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University of Toronto Studies

REVIEW OF

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO CANADA

VOL. XXI

REVIEW OF

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO CANADA

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REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

Democracy and Empire. By A. E. Duchesne. (Royal Colonial Institute Monographs.) Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1916. Pp. viii, 120.

Cleon's famous remark that "a democracy cannot govern an empire" has done duty on many an examination paper. In attempting a serious enquiry into its truth Mr. Duchesne has furnished students of the Empire and its problems with more valuable and detailed information on the dependencies of the crown than, we believe, can be found anywhere in the same compass. For the excellence of these later chapters and the graphical appendices one can well forgive a slightly youthful Toryism in the earlier part and the use of "proletariate" on page 9 and "proletarian" on page 19.

Mr. Duchesne might also have gone to Thucydides for the conception, on which he does well to insist, that democracy must mean the whole people and not the People, for the speech of Athenagoras (VI. 39) makes the first announcement of this political wisdom.

Of course, Mr. Duchesne's finding is that history on the whole bears Cleon out, with reservation in the case of France, where Democracy has certainly done better than Empire. This is due partly to common citizenship between the more advanced colonies and the mother country, and partly to the fact that "the average Frenchman, not being a prospective colonist himself, has very little interest in colonial matters, which are therefore left to experts". This latter reason reminds one of the passive virtue which Aristotle and Mommsen find in undeveloped democracy. Mr. Duchesne emphasizes the necessity of trusting the "man on the spot", and it surely remains the wisdom of democracy

that while it must know and watch, whether People or people, it must also trust.

We must accept the universal modern trend toward democratic forms of government. If an ideal democracy "is one which is so governed as to afford the fullest possible recognition of the rights of individual citizens, whilst these citizens in their turn are possessed of an adequate ideal of duty", if we work toward that ideal and succeed in lifting the government of dependencies and foreign policy in general out of the range of partisan politics, is it not credible that such a democracy could govern peoples on their path toward self-government? As a matter of fact, our democracy must.

Canadians will observe with deep interest the rise of the question of fiscal autonomy in India, and the article of the London *Spectator* on "India and the Empire" of March 10, 1917, furnishes practical comment on the chapters on India and Indian problems. The author may well claim that two years of the war have made some of his doctrine, which must have seemed revolutionary to half of his people, the common-places of newspaper discussion, and he himself admits that "much of what seemed to be the character of our democracy has vanished".

British Colonial Policy, 1783-1915. By C. H. Currey. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1916. Pp. 266.

There is a significant parallel, which Mr. Currey has not observed, between his heroes, "the theorists of 1830", and the present group of young Englishmen who co-operated in the creation of the last great Dominion and then gave themselves to the study of the whole Imperial problem in the Round Table movement. Durham, Wakefield, Buller and Molesworth are justly entitled to be called the fathers of colonial autonomy. History has not yet passed its verdict on the work of the other group.

In this brief and excellent survey of the evolution of self-government in the Dominions Mr. Currey sees a process at work which he personally hopes will find its term in (we

condense for him) "a permanent union" on terms of absolute equality, of "puissant nations", acknowledging their allegiance to one sovereign. He would frankly call himself a nationalist. He is apparently unaware of Mr. Ewart's *Kingdom Papers*. The betrayals of Canadian interests which impart a regrettable bitterness to Mr. Ewart's work are here paralleled by the officious blundering of "Mr. Mother Country". But it cannot be said that there is any *animus*. With generous fairness Mr. Currey points out the reluctance of the colonies to assume the burden of their home defence, and, while he severely censures Mr. Churchill's concentration of the fleet in the North Sea without consultation with the Dominion governments, he recognizes its wisdom. Though these "puissant nations" will be bound together by "co-operative alliances" (*sic*), Mr. Currey would doubtless repudiate any charge of advocating a British alliance of sovereign nations. He has evidently not analysed the problem sufficiently to realize the implications of the "co-operation" in which he believes. He desires that the Dominions should have an equal voice in foreign policy, he admits that the Dominions are not contributing their proper share to the common defence, and he betrays no feeling of reluctance to share the Imperial responsibilities of war. His hope of solving the Imperial problem lies in developing the Imperial Conference.

Mr. Currey's nationalism keeps its feet on the very solid earth. He is an ardent supporter of preferential trade. We are reminded that "during the first forty years of the nineteenth century there was no dispute of any moment between the Colonial Office and the colonies as to the nature of their commercial relations", and he quotes Adam Smith's remark, "as defence is of much more importance than opulence, the Act of Navigation is perhaps the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England". In a word, "preferential trade is the enabling condition of Imperial unity", and the Imperial government has dangerously long denied the Dominions the trade advantages for which they have persistently asked, and which they once enjoyed in re-

markable measure (see pp. 37-8). "Jan Hofmeyr was only the first of modern Imperialists to warn the Empire that where a colony's treasure is, there would its heart be also".

While Mr. Currey has made no attempt to analyse the co-operation for which he stands, he is at great pains to analyse and dismiss as impossible any such plan of federation as Sir Joseph Ward's (made wholly, as we know, on his personal initiative): (1) Defence and foreign policy are bound up with commercial policy, which "*wages war peacefully on other nations*". (2) Minority representation would be intolerable to the Dominions. (3) A federal parliament would encroach upon Dominion autonomy; Australia would have to abandon her navy; the Dominions could not control their immigration, nor fix the conditions of labour on their mercantile marine; had the Laurier-Taft pact been carried, it would have been annulled. (4) It has always been regarded with more favour in the homeland, but even there it would be rejected: "Authority cannot be shared", Mr. Asquith reminds us. (5) Liberalism in the United Kingdom would never abandon free trade. (6) Finally, India and the dependencies could not be given proportionate representation and would therefore be "condemned to remain permanently under the rule of the Colonial and Indian Office".

In short, what Mr. Currey really advocates, in urging the development of the beginning we have made in the Imperial Conference, is an Imperial "co-operation" of equals *in which the Dominion co-operators have determined beforehand the plan of Imperial defence.* "The only policy which is consonant with the nationalist aspirations of these Dominions and may be calculated to allay their fears is one which supports the creation of Australian, New Zealand and Canadian Navies, growing as their Dominions grow and working with the units maintained by the Imperial government to safeguard their interests in the far east, for the common advantage of the Empire".

Truly this is nationalism in its youth and without much sense of humour. With this context Canadian readers will find interest in Mr. A. G. Gardiner's article, *Imperial Defence After the War*, in the *Contemporary Review* for January 1917. "We must remember", he says, "that at bottom the attachment of the colonies to the Empire is an attachment of self-interest". Mr. Gardiner evidently contemplates with satisfaction the probability that the submarine will banish the windy ideal of a federated Empire.

Imperial Unity and the Dominions. By Arthur Berriedale Keith. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916. Pp. 626.

One closes this finely documented study with the feeling that the author of *Responsible Government in the Dominions* has rendered the Empire a real service at a very critical moment. Mr. Keith's sympathy with the ideal of Imperial unity is deep, but he never allows himself to stray from the solid ground of fact and existing sentiment. His work is quite indispensable for the statesman, the constitutional lawyer and the serious student of political movement within the Empire; and it is difficult to say whether one more admires his great knowledge of legal and constitutional detail or the skill with which he depicts the constitutional trend, the susceptibilities and local colour of the various self-governing units of the Empire. He believes that the ultimate form which the Empire may take may well be one which has no existing parallel, but that with some form of unity as our goal or hope, the path of wisdom is, as far as possible, to complete autonomy in the parts while at the same time we go on to develop common action in the whole. He presents with sobering power the great difficulties to be surmounted in our progress toward any forms of federation, though his own belief is not doubtful that they lie less in human perversity than in the immaturity of national youth. Time, liberty, responsibility will alter the latter, and the great experiences through which we are passing will, we may hope, so quicken the sense of Imperial duty that the relations of the Dominions and the United Kingdom will be

lifted out of the sphere of partisan conflict, that Dominion statesmen will less frequently make the naïve confession of Sir Charles Tupper (*Recollections of Sixty Years*, p. 95), or Imperial statesmen regret the partisan use of the grave situation in Natal in 1906.

Mr. Keith does not feel the weakness of the party system so keenly as Mr. Lash, but his solid volume bears a curious resemblance to the latter's modest book. It has an equally definite and practical purpose, being on the whole nothing less than an exhaustive argument for a series of clearly defined suggestions, which are presented in the conclusion for the consideration of the Imperial Conference at the close of the war. These suggestions would complete responsible government in Canada in the fields of the declaration of martial law, the dissolution of Parliament, the exercise of the prerogative of pardon, and the regulation of merchant shipping, where Canadian autonomy is not yet as complete as may be supposed. The Revised Statutes of 1906, for instance, embody a Copyright Act of 1889 and an Act providing for the marking of deck and load lines, neither of which the Imperial government has yet sanctioned. The power, moreover, of the Imperial government to reserve or disallow Dominion legislation should disappear. It should be possible, where Imperial interests are really involved, to secure modification in Dominion legislation by negotiation. Failing this, in a case of grave emergency, the Imperial Parliament could pass paramount legislation. Such legislation would be manifestly difficult to secure, and the recognition of this difficulty might be turned to political use in the Dominions. But, as against this undoubted danger, the sense of responsibility would be increased in the Dominions and might be trusted. He further urges that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council be transformed into a supreme court of final appeal for the Empire, by including in its members permanent and effective representation from the Dominions and transferring to it judicial appeals in the United Kingdom, which are now heard in the House of Lords. The Dominions should also be repre-

sented, when desired, in all international conferences, political or otherwise, by plenipotentiaries nominated by their governments and appointed by the King on the advice of the Imperial government.

His three remaining suggestions are simple, but of supreme importance:

(1) "It is an essential condition for the attainment of Imperial unity that the governments of the Dominions should take into their earnest consideration the means by which, while preserving essential homogeneity of race, free and unrestricted entry into the territories shall be secured to all educated British Indian subjects, and that all restrictions which are, at present, on grounds of race and colour only, imposed on British Indians who are legitimately resident in the self-governing Dominions should be rescinded."

South Africa, of course, is the storm centre of the Indian problem. How must the educated British Indian think of his position as against that of the African negro? But neither can he forget that Canada welcomes Lithuanians, Doukhobors and Galicians but not British Indians. Mr. Keith urges, a step taken since he wrote, that India should be represented at the next Imperial Conference by a member of the Indian race. Nothing would do so much to bring home to British and Dominion statesmen the gravity and character of the Indian problem, and the nature of the great responsibility which we have to carry.

(2) If possible, a Dominion minister of cabinet rank should be continuously present in London to keep his government informed of foreign policy.

"It may safely be predicted that, if the Dominion representatives are to have only such control of or intelligence of foreign policies in their relation to the Empire as they can pick up once in four years at a very much overcrowded conference, they are not likely to benefit the Empire very seriously by their advice" (p. 549). "It is creditable to the intelligence of Sir C. Tupper that as far back as 1891 he saw quite clearly that the only possibility of establishing a Council of Advice would rest on the sending of ministers,

not officials, to represent the government of the Dominions" (p. 547). "Everything tends to show that the Committee of Imperial Defence will develop as a mode for the time being of assisting the appreciation of foreign affairs by the Dominions" (p. 550).

Mr. Keith's whole treatment of this question of a voice in the control of foreign policy is characteristically sane and noble. It does not follow that to share the responsibility by taking common counsel in matters of foreign policy involves sharing authority, as Mr. Asquith would seem to have put it in the Imperial Conference in 1911. Moreover, except in the literal constitutional sense, it certainly increases the responsibility of the Imperial government. For it would be a serious step to act contrary to the deliberate advice of the Dominions, and the necessity of justifying such a course to Parliament might sometimes exert a salutary influence. Mr. Keith warns both Imperial and Dominion ministers against constructing too hastily the hard dilemma involved in this sharing of authority.

(3) Lastly, Mr. Keith points to the object lesson of the present war in strategy. Civilization is being saved, we hope, by the presence of the Grand Fleet in the North Sea, and by this alone. The Fleet does not exist to draw the Empire together but to defend it, and sentiment must give way to strategy. He urges therefore that defence should be conceived upon an Imperial basis. The chapter on naval defence is singularly convincing and moderate. Local pride and patriotic sentiment could be sufficiently met by the possession of naval bases, cruisers, submarines and destroyers.

Adoption of the foregoing counsels would, Mr. Keith conceives, constitute an Imperial partnership, a moral partnership, human, workable for perhaps an indefinite period, expressing in good measure the instinct which brought about the marvellous rally of the Empire in August 1914, and leaving further development to the future. The advantage of such a partnership in the matter of India should

be obvious, when we reflect upon what must be the attitude of India to the Dominions.

Federation of the Empire Mr. Keith dismisses as an ideal upon which the future alone can give us light. But to the question of independence of the Dominions he devotes an important chapter, and submits the argument of the *Kingdom Papers* to destructive analysis. It is more than doubtful whether Mr. Ewart's analogy of the Kingdom of Hanover will hold in modern international law and it is certain that, if the plan were entered into in the spirit which pervades the *Kingdom Papers*, it could mean only speedy separation. They embody the unpleasant memories of the Alaskan boundary arbitration, and with Mr. Ewart's criticism of this unfortunate passage in Canadian history Mr. Keith is in frank agreement. But the remainder of Mr. Ewart's argument to show that Great Britain has consistently sacrificed Canadian to Imperial interests where they conflicted is examined and refuted in convincing detail.

The Empire on the Anvil. By W. Basil Worsfold. London: Smith Elder & Co., 1916. Pp. xvi, 242.

Mr. Worsfold believes with Lord Sydenham of Combe, who writes the introduction, that the "path of least resistance" along which we have been travelling in our instinctive search for some form of Imperial unity would have eventually ended in separation of the Dominions, but that the war has brought our great opportunity. For, in the first place, never again can we hope for so powerful and spontaneous an impulse to common action as in this time of stupendous common sacrifice, and, in the second place, never before have we seen so clearly what it might mean to preserve and develop one quarter of the habitable globe in the interests of these many peoples under one flag.

His appeal is directed to the people of the United Kingdom. He firmly believes that under a form of federation the British peoples could so manage their vast heritage and trust as to secure a greater material welfare than would ever otherwise be possible. But he is conscious of the immense

sacrifice of sovereignty which the electors of the United Kingdom are called upon to make. Against this the material compensation will seem unevenly distributed. "What is certain is, that the masses of the electorate are conscious of their present power and will require a substantial equivalent for their sacrifice; and that the relief of the United Kingdom from a part of the burden of Imperial taxation is an advantage from which not they, but the (relatively) few electors of the income tax-paying classes will directly benefit". The indirect benefit will be certain but not immediately visible. "There is only one recompense which they will consider adequate, and only one ground upon which an effective appeal for their support can be based. It is the well founded belief that the organized strength of this British Empire will suffice to secure peace to the peoples within its borders, and, in concert with the kindred Anglo-Saxon system of the United States, to maintain the peace of the world". Between one fourth and one third of the voters who will have to decide the question will have been face to face with reality and "have come to see the things that really matter". "They will realize with pride that the British Empire has been and is, in Lord Rosebery's words, 'the greatest secular agency for good yet known to the world', and recognize that to add to the sum of its resources and the efficiency of its administration will be the only fitting and sufficient recompense for the surrender of their exclusive power to guide its destinies: that, in a word, the federation of the British Empire will do more than any other single event to rid the world of the cruel and wasteful militarism by which it has been so long oppressed" (pp. 138-9).

Canadians have but a very faint realization of how much the vast problem before us is, to the greater part of the Empire and the Allies, an immediate and personal question of peace and the removal of a peril never felt in Canada. To Canada, as to all North America, it is an abstract question of world-peace, and vague apprehensions rise in the minds of some that in drawing together we shall

only be constructing what the world will regard as a menace. But Canada has shown herself open to the argument for "fair trade" and a policy of mutual commercial concessions, and it is congenial doctrine that Canada will be doing the Empire her greatest service by developing her resources and accumulating wealth. Now Mr. Worsfold has a sentence which cuts very deep into the question of world-peace: "Until the military régime has given place to an industrial régime throughout the world, the fiscal policy of nations will be governed by political and military, as well as economic, considerations". We thought we had reached the industrial régime. Does it mean peace and would the arrival of an industrial Canada as another unit in the world of sovereign powers organized as business concerns be a contribution to the world's peace?

But is Mr. Worsfold right in dismissing the "path of least resistance" as meaning eventual dissolution? Reduced to its lowest dimensions, the practical question would appeal to the writer to be this: Shall we stay with our own, and manage as partners those interests which are vital to the whole, or, obsessed by doctrine, take a step which, unseen by the many, can mean only ultimate separation? Such a step can be made inevitable by both the United Kingdom and the Dominions, by an absolute refusal on the one side to share authority and on the other to share responsibility. Let us avoid it. The immediate "path of least resistance" lies in developing the Imperial Conference and especially, as Mr. Keith would say, the Committee of Imperial Defence. The Imperial government can insist over-much upon the impossibility of sharing authority, and the Dominion government can refuse to create permanent ministers to advise with the Imperial authorities or to contribute to defence treated upon an Imperial basis, from a perception of the implications involved. Pass this point and the future is saved. Whether such a moral partnership shall go on to develop organic federation is something which may be trusted to the genius of Liberalism and of free institutions. It may or may not be true that the ultimate welfare of the whole and

of the parts calls also, as Mr. Worsfold argues, for a common fiscal policy. We are well aware that the cruel logic of events will compel us to reopen questions we thought closed. But it is begging the question to argue with Mr. Worsfold that the surrender of Imperial control of fiscal policy has lost the Empire the greater part of the surplus capital of Great Britain and checked the development of the Dominions, while increasing the resources of foreign states. In the matter, however, of the defence of the Empire we know that we do not in our hearts differ. We simply know that, if the great issue of to-day had depended upon the arrival of the contingents from the Dominions across from 3,000 to 12,000 miles of ocean, what survived of civilization would have been mourning the fact that we British had at last failed to reconcile liberty and government.

But Mr. Worsfold predicts the failure of "the path of least resistance" for another reason, and we cannot agree with him. The reason is, that the Imperial Conference or the Committee of Imperial Defence must at once become a chamber of delegates appointed by the parliaments of the Empire, and *ipso facto* superior to the Imperial Parliament. Such a joint ministry works in Austria-Hungary, only because the Crown has executive power, and Mr. Worsfold dismisses gradual development in this direction as out of the question. This is to emphazise Mr. Asquith's position that authority cannot be shared and to refuse to trust the genius of liberty to transform voluntary into constitutional responsibility.

For a "half-way house" Mr. Worsfold suggests the admission of Indian representatives to the Imperial Conference and the Committee of Imperial Defence, and the creation of a "Dominions' Council of Delegates", the Dominions agreeing to participate in the defence of the Empire for a period of ten years upon a basis adjusted to two-thirds of the burden carried by the United Kingdom, and possessing the power of withholding supplies, the Foreign Secretary forming the constitutional link between this Council and the Imperial Parliament, the Council to meet once a year.

He thus makes a serious attempt to give a literal share of authority in the constitutional sense. One's first impression is that this amounts to inserting into the British constitution something like a diminished Roman tribunate. He makes no attempt to analyse the working of this half-way house.

The fact surely remains that the Imperial Council and the Committee of Imperial Defence are the living core in our Imperial development, and that they are both the undoubted outcome of the original Imperial Federation League founded in 1884 under the chairmanship of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, Liberal M.P. for Bradford.

It is interesting to observe among its resolutions the following statement of principles:

That the object of the League is to secure by federation the permanent unity of the Empire.

That no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs.

That any scheme of Imperial federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of the common interests and adequately provide for an organized defence of common rights.

That the League invites the support of men of all political parties.

In Canada, as we know, the Canadian branch of the League, which was founded in 1885, emphasized the economic aspect of unity by advocating reciprocal tariffs.

In 1891 the League resolved to approach the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, with a definite request for the summoning of an Imperial convention *ad hoc*. Lord Salisbury pointed out that some well considered plan was required before any such convention should be summoned. Thus challenged, the League drew up a plan in 1892, and presented it to the new Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, on April 13, 1893, who refused to entertain it, as suggesting a reversal of the policy of free trade and as not sufficiently definite in regard to the principles upon which the burden of defence should be distributed. The central body of the League then voted to disband.

But the League cannot be said to have ended in failure. The report presented to Mr. Gladstone, which bore, among others, the names of Lord Brassey (Chairman), James Bryce, Sir Charles Tupper, is, as Mr. Worsfold justly points out, a remarkable document, anticipating and going beyond the advances made in the last twenty years. Nothing shows better than this report that "constitution-making" for the Empire is more than a pastime. It is only by responding to such challenges for the concrete as were made by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone that progress is made and mistakes in principle eliminated, as we slowly proceed to a goal which may be something other than any we have yet conceived. The report contains in outline, as will be seen, the Imperial Council of Mr. Z. A. Lash, and clause XXII deserves quotation:

"The method of raising contributions would probably by general consent be left at the outset to the choice of the individual self-governing states. But future developments may disclose a means of raising the necessary contributions upon some uniform principle throughout the Empire, by the allocation to this purpose of special sources of revenue or otherwise".

The main portion of Mr. Worsfold's book is given to the development of a complete federal constitution for the Empire. The parliament of this "British Union" consists of the Crown advised by its ministers or a cabinet of ministers; a "British Senate" of 200 members, 150 chosen from the white states, 50 from the coloured; and a "House of Representatives" of 400 members, 300 elected by the people of the white states, 100 by the coloured peoples (on a basis borrowed from our experience in Egypt and India).

The Imperial sources of revenue will be mainly: (1) Imperial duties on imports; (2) taxes on luxuries and certain non-necessary commodities within and without the Union; (3) income from unalienated property of the Crown; (4) contributions from the state governments, on a basis of assessment which will have to allow at first for the fact that the Dominions have had to find immense sums of money for

internal development. "Broadly speaking, while the United Kingdom, as a state, holds a position analogous to that of a householder whose income is derived largely from inherited property and investments, the Dominions, as states, are in the position of a householder whose income is derived mainly from his yearly earnings".

The argument for "fair trade" is presented again to the author's countrymen with great clarity and moderation. The present economic schism in the interests of the Empire can, he urges, be removed, and he believes that its removal is necessary for Imperial federation. But even more necessary is the removal of the doctrinal sensibilities of the Dominions, as will be perceived from Mr. Worsfold's account of the proposals to the self-governing colonies by Mr. Lyttelton, the successor of Mr. Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary, dated April 20, 1905. Mr. Lyttelton had suggested a permanent commission of enquiry and a permanent secretariat for an Imperial council (on which India should be represented). The Canadian government's reply began thus, "The Committee (of the Privy Council) at the outset are disposed to consider that any change in the title or status of the Colonial Conference should rather originate with and emanate from that body itself", and went on to say "they entertain with some doubt the proposal to change the name of the Colonial Conference to that of the Imperial Council, which they apprehend would be interpreted as marking a step distinctly in advance of the position hitherto attained in the discussion of the relations between the mother country and the colonies".

Defence and Foreign Affairs. By Z. A. Lash. Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1917. Pp. 86.

What federationists would call another "half-way house" has been constructed by Mr. Z. A. Lash. "Even an impracticable proposal", he modestly says, "often leads the argument along practical lines and produces some practical and beneficial result". He challenges Mr. Curtis's

position that the government of dependencies cannot be separated from foreign affairs, and in an appendix frames an actual Agreement between the United Kingdom and the various self-governing units of the Empire, constituting a central authority for defence and foreign policy. Briefly, this Agreement leaves the administration of the dependencies and crown colonies and protectorates to the parliament of the United Kingdom and preserves to the Dominions "*the autonomy which they now possess respecting all other affairs*". This central authority—the "Imperial Council"—possesses the right of eminent domain in the field of its jurisdiction and the power of recovery of expenses from other authorities. "Never state the reasons for your verdict" is not a maxim of the author. The rest of the book forms a commentary on the Agreement and the reasons are given with admirable lucidity and directness. Manifestly this "halfway house" is built a considerable distance beyond that of Mr. Worsfold.

Mr. Lash is clearly convinced that the Dominions have reached the point when they wish to contribute their share to Imperial defence and to have a voice in the control of foreign policy, while as yet they are reluctant to undertake the administration of the dependencies. It may seem illogical that we should be willing to defend the dependencies, while loath to assist in working out their future, but the Empire itself is not a triumph of logic. It is at least a merit of this plan that it does not raise the formidable difficulties presented by the attitude of India to the Dominions.

Mr. Lash purposely avoids inserting fiscal detail. An agreement between free peoples presupposes their ability to settle these on the lines of freedom. But it may fairly be said that defence as an Imperial question is left in an uncertain position. The Dominions have their fleets, but whether they contribute to a Imperial fleet is not clear.

The New Imperial Partnership. By Percy Hurd and Archibald Hurd. London: John Murray, 1915. Pp. xvi, 322.

Readers of the Hurds will know what to expect in this argument for treating defence as an Imperial question—bluff and trenchant common-sense, occasionally harsh and repellant, but sincere; not without idealism, but in immediate touch with facts, which cannot be set aside, and must be treated as facts until they are transformed. Their analysis of alliance and partnership is needlessly offensive, but it cannot be gainsaid. The ugly possibilities of international trade rivalry are once more presented in a form which chills the heart. But frankly to face the facts of international relations is not to despair of their modification. We may hope that militarism is broken, but armaments will remain.

Canada's fiscal relations with the United Kingdom, terminating at length in the denunciation of the treaties with Belgium and the German Zollverein, are treated with some detail. It was in the year following the vigorous demonstration of Canadian fiscal autonomy in the "National Policy" campaign of 1878 that the first approaches were made for a treaty of reciprocity. "In these Canadian approaches we have the germ of the Empire preference movement which has since inspired so much of the thought of the statesmen of the Dominions".

The authors are not disconcerted with the temporary character of all Imperial relations or the impossibility of forecasting any constitutional reconstruction of the Empire, which as Sir Robert Borden reminds us "is in some respects a mere disorganization". "Believing in the British Empire as one of the most potent instruments for diffusing the blessings of law and order, freedom and duty, service and mercy throughout the world—and, what is for us of great importance, *our particular brand* of instrument—realizing also that no self-governing portion of the Empire conceives a nobler future and a greater destiny for itself outside rather than inside that Empire, we shall follow the traditional lines of British wisdom and get on with our work together,

knowing that the machinery of the state will be adapted to our new needs as they arise. Our prime concern, as practical people, must be, in Mr. Fisher's words, to get into the closest possible touch with one another in the day-to-day relationships of life".

There is abundance of material in the book for a working knowledge of what is practically involved in the problem of Imperial armaments, and a particular interest attaches to the examination in the light of the war of Mr. Churchill's speech of March 17, 1914, with the Australian comment upon it and of Sir William Nicholson's Memorandum to the Imperial Conference in 1909.

The Commonwealth of Nations. London: Macmillan & Co., 1916. Pp. iii, xviii, 722.

This fine volume is of composite authorship. Mr. Curtis acts simply as editor. We have here a work worthy to stand beside *The Wealth of Nations* and destined perhaps to exert a similar influence throughout the English-speaking world. It is a most noble presentation of the growth and genius of the British Empire. One will search in vain for a juster conception of the meaning of law in this great development. We might describe the work as an attempt to set forth the secular growth of the western ideal of democratic citizenship, inspired by the buoyant belief that our vast Empire will eventually complete its task of nation-building, and that it will work out the conciliation of freedom and government, liberty of the individual and the aspirations of nations, within the compass of a single state. There is also discernible in the background the hope of a common future for the English-speaking peoples, and the quiet conviction that these are stages on the way to a distant world-state.

The experience of the Greek world, of the dual monarchy of England and Scotland, of Irish history, of the effort to induce the American colonies to pay a portion of the expenses of their own defence, which led to external taxation, rebellion and the great schism in the English-speaking race, and, lastly, the struggle of the thirteen liberated States to

find some unifying principle which should enable them to carry on a corporate life, are all used to point the moral that people have no consecutive interest in a matter for which they are not called upon to make some direct, conscious sacrifice.

In regard to all this, two questions force themselves upon us. Does the completion of British citizenship for Canadians demand a unitary state? Is a unitary state the best expression of this like-mindedness and community of ideals and past experiences which have never in human history displayed a greater power than at this moment?

Yet we greatly misinterpret the work if we conceive it as the expression of racial pride or of the human eagerness to give immutable form to living achievement. "O stay, thou golden moment" is not the note, but a sense of duty so profound, so stirring, that the results will be carried on, whatever be the form that the Empire will and must take in its effort to discharge the heavy obligations of which we were never so conscious as now.

The Problem of the Commonwealth. By Lionel Curtis. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1916. Pp. xii, 247 and Appendix.

The unfortunate results of the sudden presentation to the Imperial Conference of 1911 of a subject of vast and paramount importance, for which the members were absolutely unprepared, cannot be too deeply deplored. The chief blame must rest upon Sir Joseph Ward, who, at the last moment, threw over the proposal forwarded by New Zealand for an Imperial advisory council with representation from all parts of the Empire, self-governing or not. As a body the Conference apparently failed even to recognize that the scheme which Sir Joseph did present was really a form of federation. As might have been foreseen, Sir Joseph was unable to defend his case against the fire of hasty criticism, fundamentals were never detached and Mr. Asquith crowned the unhappy discussion by the dilemma which he constructed and the now historic phrase "authority cannot

be shared". Mr. Asquith himself may to-day regret the manner in which he terminated the discussion as much as Sir Joseph Ward the precipitation of it. It was a lawyer's treatment of an issue which transcends doctrine.

We have seen the concrete results of the challenge made by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone for a definite plan. It is perhaps not too much to say that Mr. Curtis would appear to have accepted the phrase "authority cannot be shared" as a similar challenge and as axiomatic truth, with the result that the *Problem of the Commonwealth* is marred by a provocative dogmatism which diverts attention from the real nobility and power of the main argument. For the meaning of the Empire, the splendour of its opportunities and the responsibility devolving upon its citizens have never found a worthier interpreter. We regret the seer in the assessor. Having once accepted the categories set by Mr. Asquith, he is carried away by the very vehemence of his belief in democracy.

A footnote on page 102 forcibly condenses the practical problem before us: "the miscarriage of Allied diplomacy in the Balkans was largely due to the fact that the cabinets in London, Paris, Petrograd and Rome were unable to make definite proposals to the Balkan powers until the terms had been settled and accepted by all four. What would the position have been if London could have agreed to nothing without the concurrence of Ottawa, Melbourne, Wellington and Pretoria?"

If, as we vividly realize, there are interests of the whole which transcend the interests of the parts, and if the United Kingdom and the Dominions will undertake to handle what is common in common, they will assuredly work out some living solution of the problem.

In the *Hibbert Journal* of October, 1916, and January, 1917, Mr. C. Delisle Burns criticises both the *Problem* and the *Commonwealth* with evident *animus*. Mr. Curtis is the administrator, impatient of the living forces of society, and a well known Hobbesian! The latter article is interesting

inasmuch as it indicates the trend of much controversy in the immediate future upon the nature of the state.

In the *Nineteenth Century and After* of March, 1917 (pp. 481-493), the Right Hon. Herbert Samuel suggests a tentative *Organization of the Empire* which also dismisses Mr. Asquith's dilemma. His "half-way house" has two compartments: the present Imperial Cabinet has four members added to it, one from each Dominion, and a small representative Assembly is proposed which "would initiate legislation but not enact it". "The Imperial Executive would present its financial and legislative proposals. The Assembly would consider them; examine them perhaps through its committees; would debate them from the standpoint of the several states represented; would shape them so as to command the best prospect of support in the territories in which they would apply; would finally pass them in the form of bills. Those bills would then be transmitted to the Parliaments of the United Kingdom and of the Dominions, and, if they concurred therein, to the governments of the dependencies and colonies, for their consideration". He points out with much force a practical difficulty in the problem of a representative chamber: "Multiplicity of elections exhausts the force of democracy. The indifference of the voter is the deadliest disease of the democratic system." With western experience he might have added that a growing distrust of representative institutions is a significant tendency in modern democracy and must be reckoned with.

The *Political Science Quarterly* of September, 1916 (pp. 445-452), contains under the title *Reconstruction of the British Empire* a careful and sympathetic analysis of the *Problem* by Professor E. L. Schuyler of Columbia University. His personal conviction is perhaps voiced in the remark: "There is reason for thinking that to-day rational adjustment is in the ascendancy" over "trust to time" and "the gradual progress of forces—already at work".

But the most striking constructive criticism yet offered of the *Problem* has been made by Professor George Burton Adams of Yale, in a paper in the *Yale Review* of

July, 1916, on *British Imperial Federation after the War*. Professor Adams points out that to Mr. Edward Jenkins belongs the honour of "crystallizing into definite form what men were thinking" in two articles contributed to the *Contemporary Review* (January and February, 1871), while the first "practical statesman" to discuss the subject was Mr. W. E. Forster, in an important speech delivered in 1875. Ideas then awoke which will find at least some tentative, practical embodiment at the close of the war.

"I am convinced", says Professor Adams, "that the future historian will say two things of the South African war. One, that its influence in the rise of Imperial unity was no less creative than that of our civil war in the formation of a higher ideal and a more real existence of national unity in the United States. The other will be that the Boer war was the most effective preparation actually made, or in one sense possible to make, for the present greater war". Had Germany clearly perceived the meaning of the South African war, "it is highly probable that this war would never have occurred". "Such an experience is epochal and creative, and the Empire has never since been the same". And after the mighty rally at the present hour, "never again can there be any question as to where the colonies stand in their relation to the Empire, nor any doubt as to the existence of an Imperial unity which is in all essential respects national. Never before has it been shown, nor is it likely that it can ever be shown again in so dramatic a way, that in the modern world geographical distance has disappeared and that a nation may exist planted on all the continents and divided by all the seas".

It appears to the writer that these words of Professor Adams go to the very heart of the great problem and that they dispose of any argument that the strivings of the past generation embody simply the artificial. The last two sentences are particularly significant. This is really the theme of Professor George M. Wrong's paper on *The Growth of Nationalism in the British Empire* (printed in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1916, pp. 45-

57): the Empire is a nation of nations. "Let us dismiss forever the superstition that there is any magic in race to hold people together and effect political unity. In the present war the most determined and irreconcilable opponents are two great states of the same Teutonic race. It is partnership in common liberties which unites people. The growth of the new nationalism in the British Empire is just the growth of liberty".

Have we not here a hint, a clew for a distant world-order, growing by partnership and not by fission? "Race" said the veteran French statesman, M. Ollivier, "has limits which cannot be overstepped; fatherland has none; it may expand and develop unceasingly; it might become all mankind".

To return to Professor Adams, who at the time of writing had apparently despaired of his people's accession to the Allies, "From a distance we can see, and because of our distance with good right we may judge that these are indeed high attempts, as lofty political conceptions as any which mankind has yet tried to make real with hope of success. We can see also that, if success is reached in this endeavour, there will have been also achieved the utmost which is possible under present conditions in the realization, security and extension of liberty for all the world".

The particular criticism which Professor Adams makes of Mr. Curtis's argument should be carefully considered. He finds an Imperial parliament "the weak spot in the whole plan". "To the American student, at least, the question would seem obvious whether our form of Cabinet government, by which all need of an Imperial parliament could be avoided, would not better suit the case".

The rapid increase of material in this field threatens to make the task of reviewing a very serious undertaking. As we go to press, Mr. Walter Eves Wismer has just published the first of a series of eight volumes on *Pan-Britannic Confederation*, and the *Manchester Guardian* (March 20th) comes to hand with an "Empire number", containing a

highly important symposium in which Lord Bryce asserts that "the impulse which the war has given to the sense of Imperial unity must not be lost". We must close with but a reference to a series of lectures delivered in the University of London in 1916 on *The Empire and the Future* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1916; pp. xv, 110.) It would be difficult to find more sanity of judgment and creative outlook within the same number of pages. The introduction by Mr. A. D. Steel-Maitland is wholly admirable. Sir Charles Lucas treats *Empire and Democracy*; the Master of Balliol, *The People and the Duties of Empire*; Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, *Imperial Administration* (of interest to Canadians as throwing light upon the working of the Civil Service); and Mr. Philip Kerr, *Commonwealth and Empire*, with the candour and elevation which we look for in all that he writes.

"The Red Watch": with the First Canadian Division in Flanders. By Colonel J. A. Currie. Toronto: Mc Clelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1916. Pp. 308.

Canada in Flanders: the Official Story of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. By Sir Max Aitken. Vol. I. Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1916. Pp. xx, 247.

Colonel Currie tells his thoughts and experiences as commanding officer of the 15th Battalion of the 1st Canadian Division from the time of its formation until the conclusion of the second Battle of Ypres. To his battalion, which was composed principally of the 48th Highlanders of Toronto, and wore a kilt with a red check, he has given the name of "The Red Watch". One third of the book is devoted to the raising and training of his command in Canada and England; the remainder is principally taken up with the story of the actions of Neuve Chapelle and Ypres.

There is a good deal of interesting matter in the book for one who has industry enough to unearth it, but the reader suffers from many discouragements of style and method. The author takes every opportunity for historical digression, and the information he gives generally seems to have been

derived from a guide-book. He tells a great deal, as well, that is worthy only of oblivion, conversations with celebrities, which are always given *verbatim*, anecdotes without a point, and stories not always in the best of taste. No faculty of self-criticism, or indeed of criticism of any kind, is evident; rash generalizations and indiscriminate superlatives abound. Although two editions of the book have appeared, no attempt seems to have been made to correct the manifold redundancies and errors in orthography and grammar. Frequently the same incident is told twice over. Place names are spelled in two and three different ways, and even the commonest names are spelled wrong.

Colonel Currie, in short, makes no contribution to the literary history of the war. Seen from the broadest view the picture of warfare he gives is blurred and unreal, and his literary faults are so many that they mar even the stories of individual gallantry which are the only things told in the book that ought to be remembered.

Sir Max Aitken has lost a great opportunity; from his official position as eye-witness to the Canadian Expeditionary Force, he knew much that could not be known by the layman or even by the newspaper correspondent. He was also present during the events which he describes. Yet the result is disappointing; the author suffers from disabilities of style and a lack of consecutiveness which make the book hard reading.

There is probably nothing more difficult to describe clearly than a modern battle. If detail is attempted clarity is sacrificed. Sir Max has attempted to tell the work of each unit, and at the same time to give a general picture of the strategy of the whole action. All that remains in the mind after reading his descriptions successively of Neuve Chapelle, Ypres, Festubert, and Givenchy is a medley of stories of trenches taken and lost and taken again, of confused and isolated encounters, but no general conception of what was actually accomplished. The most vivid part of the narrative consists of tales of personal gallantry, which

give the reader a good idea of the character and spirit of the gallant band of Canadians which helped to bar the road to Calais.

The author's official position prevents him from indulging in criticism, but that is no reason for delivering a general panegyric over all who were in any way connected with the force. Much was accomplished that is worthy of high praise in raising and training the First Canadian Contingent in a remarkably short space of time, but any member of that force can tell of the unnecessary hardships, confusion, and expense which were caused by elementary mistakes in organization. If Sir Max Aitken would not criticize what was worthy of criticism, he might at least have refrained from giving unmerited praise.

The book is illustrated throughout with simple maps which are easily understood. In the numerous appendices there are lists of honours and casualties, official despatches and speeches.

"A Canadian" seeks to answer the question which used to be asked so frequently by Americans: *Why Canada is at War* (*Quarterly Review*, January 1916, pp. 1-15). Why should a democratic, unmilitary people, deeply involved in problems of domestic development and aroused by no usurpation of its national rights, willingly sacrifice its men and resources in France and Belgium? The answer he gives is an affirmation of the strength of the Imperial tie; he emphasizes that, while Canada may appear to the casual observer to be more American than British, yet in reality the feeling of loyalty to the Empire has been continually increasing since Confederation, until it culminated in August 1914, when 22,000 men were asked for the 1st Canadian Contingent and 100,000 volunteered.

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control in Quebec. By Walter Alexander Riddell. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.) New York, 1916. Pp. 195.

This monograph is the outcome of a study relating to the sociological and the historical factors which have led to the power of the Catholic Church in present-day Quebec—a large subject to be sure, and one which the author has not attempted to exhaust. The initial chapters deal with the social foundations of New France, its population and their environment, with the occupations of the people and with the various features of life which during the old régime worked to promote the social solidarity. While all this is largely a matter of traversing well worn paths, the author has nevertheless managed to suggest some new lines of enquiry and to present much familiar data in a new setting. Attention should be called, for example, to the analysis of ethnic origins (pp. 36-42) in which Dr. Riddell knocks on the head the traditional notion that Normandy furnished the bulk of the immigrants to New France. Traditions of this sort die hard, however, and it is perhaps too much to hope that the author has given this one its *coup de grâce*, but at any rate no future historian can afford to disregard the evidence which he has brought together on this phase of social history.

Then follows a chronicle of what the Church sought to do during the old dominion and what it was in fact able to accomplish. Dr. Riddell has not attempted to rehearse the threadbare story of the bickerings which took place over the respective rights of the clergy and the civil authorities; he has merely outlined in a general way the relations of the two powers at successive periods in the history of the colony, showing that the Church after the departure of Denonville never again managed to get the upper hand in the direction of civil affairs in New France. Its influence upon the course

of civil policy, the author shows, was far less extensive when French dominion came to an end than it had been in the days when Laval was at the helm. With the coming of the English, however, its privileges and its influence commenced to expand once more so that the Church in reality profited by the "change of masters". There is indeed a striking similarity between the course of developments in the decades which immediately followed 1663 and in those which immediately followed 1763. The ecclesiastical authorities gained greatly in power during both these periods.

Dr. Riddell has undertaken a work which was well worth doing and on the whole he has done it well. His range of enquiry has been wide; his authorities are good; he has sifted his material carefully and collated it with good judgment. There are minor slips, but they do not in any way impair the general accuracy of the monograph. Somewhat more serious as a shortcoming is the author's lack of thorough grounding in the general history of his period and the consequent tendency to deal with various things as isolated phenomena when they might have been placed in their proper articulation with one another. Some of his sociological interpretations, moreover, are of questionable soundness; others may be of value to those who are versed in the jargon of sociology, but to the student of history they are unintelligible, as for example the statement (p. 69), that the French-Canadians of old were "largely of the ideo-emotional type of mind and less dogmatic-emotional than their descendants of to-day".

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

In the Chronicles of Canada, the volume on *The Jesuit Missions* by Thomas Guthrie Marquis (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916; pp. viii, 150) scarcely ranks with the best books of that admirable series. It is nevertheless a creditable piece of work, well planned, showing a good sense of the relative importance of things, dealing with its subject sympathetically yet in no patronizing vein, and written in a straightforward style without any of that

straining after lurid rhetoric which in both languages has so freely marked many previous narratives of Jesuit achievement. Much of the substance is "cauld kail het again", yet warmed over in such way as to make a rather palatable diet for the general reader. The author has not ventured off the trodden paths and consequently has missed some fine opportunities, for there is much to be said about the black-robes that has not yet been clearly set forth upon the printed page. Some day, for example, the historian will do justice to the missionary as a diplomatist, as an ambassador of his race and a very efficient one in the way of keeping the tribes in friendship and winning their trade for his own people. Apostle he was, but patriot too. Some day, moreover, we shall have our attention called to the fact that, notwithstanding the great work of the Jesuits at the wilderness missions, a still greater work was connected with their ministrations within the settled confines of the colony itself. Not all the zeal and piety of these priests went into the depths of the forest; the fifty thousand French of the St. Lawrence valley got a large share of it, and it was well for the colony that they did. Some day the reader will have these things brought home to him, but not at this time or in this book.

The *Canadian Messenger* of Montreal begins a series which aims to popularize in Canada and in the English tongue the work of French Jesuit missionaries. The Jesuit father E. J. Devine, has written five pamphlets, each of twenty-four pages, and each devoted to a Jesuit martyr in the Canadian field. The martyrs are *John de Brébeuf*, *Gabriel Lalemant*, *Anthony Daniel*, *Charles Garnier*, and *Noël Chabanel*. All of these men perished in the struggle between the Iroquois and the Huron Indians in 1648 and 1649. A movement is on foot to secure the beatification by the Pope of Brébeuf and his companions and the series is devoted in part to this propagandist purpose. Father Devine tells his story quite simply and is so far influenced by the critical spirit of this age that he makes but slight reference to the signs

and wonders so prominent in the original Jesuit *Relations* of the time. It is a little gruesome to remember that a portion of Lalemant's scalp, torn from his head by the savages, was sent to his sister, and, no doubt, is still preserved somewhere as a relic. The Jesuit College at Canterbury has other relics of these missionaries. In this connection it is odd to remember that at Canterbury there is still a congregation of Huguenots driven out of France by Jesuit influence not long after these Jesuit martyrdoms.

The charmingly printed little volume, *Trois Légendes Franciscaines de l' An 1629, par Le Frère Gilles*, edited by the scholarly Père Hugolin (Montreal: La Librairie Notre-Dame, 1916; pp. 128), is not history but modern fiction. It has historical interest, however, for the preface of the learned editor shows with what sorrow the members of the Récollet order left Canada in 1629, when the English took Quebec, and with what joy they have in recent times, under their new name as Franciscan minors, celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of their first coming, built a great house at Quebec, and become once more active factors in the religious life of the province. The first of the three "legends" is a supposed vision which brother Gilles, a friar with a gift of writing, describes Frère Gervais as having had in 1629 of the future glory of the order in Canada, realized in the recent building of the Franciscan house at Quebec. The second legend tells of the seraphic work of a baptized Indian boy who returned to live among his savage people after the departure of the Récollets; the third springs out of the destruction by the English of a settlement with its chapel at Cap Tourmente. It is all modern fiction but it is written with great charm. There is no better evidence than this book of the vitality of the cult of St. Francis in modern times. The very spirit of the mendicant saint is in these "legends".

It would be hard to find a more useful summary of the history of Canada than the *Tableaux Synoptiques de l'His-*

toire du Canada 1500-1700 by Father Le Jeune, of the University of Ottawa (Ottawa, 1916; pp. 104). The present volume covers two epochs, 1500-1600 and 1600-1700. Three more are promised, covering respectively the period 1700-1800, 1800-1900 and a final one for the whole history of Acadia, Newfoundland, etc. The author gives in successive chapters an elaborate summary of all the events in Canadian history. Sometimes there are references to authorities and the synopses are sufficiently full to be a real guide to the careful student. Such a task represents serious labour and, of course, the reverend author lays special stress upon ecclesiastical events. Apparently, too, he is not familiar with the literature in England relating to Canada for he refers to few English authors and even Parkman is not included in his list of authorities to be consulted. Quite obviously the synopsis is one-sided but this hardly impairs the value for those who wish to understand the mind of French-speaking writers on the history of Canada.

La Colonisation du Canada sous la domination française, by the Abbé Ivanhoe Caron (Quebec, 1916; pp. 90), should be fairly judged by what its author intended it to be. In the opening sentence he disclaims all pretension to erudition or literary merit and enjoins the reader to expect nothing more than a bare sketch of the way in which New France was colonized. And an excellent sketch it is, well arranged, accurate and comprehensive. Particularly useful are the statistics which show what progress the colony had made at various stages. But in presenting his summary of Catalogne's report (pp. 45-50), the author does not appear to have been aware that this entire document was printed in one of the publications of the Champlain Society nearly ten years ago. A valuable feature of the book is the appendix containing a full list of all the seigniories granted during the French régime with a key to their present location, the name of the original seigneur, the date of the grant, an estimate of their acreage, and various other information.

We have had several biographies of Frontenac, notably those of Parkman, Lorin and Le Sueur. Professor C. W. Colby's volume *The Fighting Governor* in the Chronicles of Canada (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916; pp. vi, 168) adds another to the list yet makes an ample place for itself. This is because the author has not confined himself to a bare recital of Frontenac's personal work, his bickerings with the Church, his forays against the Iroquois, and his intrigues with the coureurs-de-bois. There is a genuine endeavour to place the Great Ononthio in his proper setting, to paint his visage with the wrinkles in, to discover what his real motives were, and to help the reader to visualize the man as he was. Hence we have history, biography and essay combined in admirable proportions. The entire series contains no topic of greater intrinsic possibilities and of these Professor Colby has made use in full measure.

One hundred and thirty-five copies only of *A Daughter of New France*, by Arthur G. Doughty (Edinburgh: The Ballantyne Press, 1916; pp. xii, 170) have been printed and sold to subscribers, the entire proceeds being generously donated by the author to the funds of the Canadian Red Cross Society. The attractive little volume contains eight chapters, of which the first seven are devoted to an outline of the more picturesque aspects of the old régime in Quebec while the last chapter tells the story of Madeleine de Verchères. Although Dr. Doughty has not set out to present much that is new he has nevertheless given us the revised version of some important events and his meditations upon certain phases of the national life and character during these early years may be read with profit even by those who are well grounded in the narrative of the period. The book is both accurate and readable. It is no disparagement of the text, however, to say that the illustrations are the best feature of the volume. They are superb, especially the reproduction of Mr. Gerald Hayward's miniature of the heroine herself, which was copied from a unique picture found in the possession of a seamstress in Montreal. The

frontispiece, a view of the old windmill at Verchères, is from a painting by H.R.H. the Princess Patricia. Three other illustrations for the book were painted by Charles W. Jefferys and one by George A. Reid, formerly President of the Royal Canadian Academy. All are admirably reproduced in colour. The publishers, too, have done their part with skill and good taste.

The path of the compiler from secondary sources is full of danger, as Louise S. Hasbrouck's *La Salle* shows (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916; pp. xvi, 212). The author relies chiefly upon Parkman whose book on La Salle was published in 1869, nearly fifty years ago. Since then much new material has been made known, especially that relating to the pioneer work in the west of Radisson. This is completely ignored in the little volume before us which is, however, a quite readable account of its hero, suitable for elementary popular instruction.

M. Pierre-Georges Roy, in a paper entitled *La prévôté de Québec* (Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., series iii, vol x, sect. i, pp. 119-128), has added another to his many solid and useful studies in the history of New France. A short sketch of the fortunes of the famous court of Old Quebec is followed by a list of its officials, with brief biographical notices of each, the whole founded on careful investigation and buttressed by references to the sources, references which, however, in some cases would be more useful to the student if more precise.

From the presbyteries and members of monastic orders of the province of Quebec there comes a creditable amount of historical literature and it is interesting to find in this literature a defence of an order of nobility in society. *La Noblesse de France et du Canada* by Abbé A. Couillard-Desprès (Montreal: Le Pays Laurentien, 1916; pp. 73) shows that a special nobility was created for Canada and that it was fairly numerous; indeed Louis XIV once com-

plained that there were too many Canadian nobles. The Abbé Desprès assails those who have attacked the Canadian *noblesse.* They were poor and, in a wild country, as the Governor Denonville once remarked, there was danger that they might turn bandits as they had no other means of living. But M. Desprès combats statements, often made, that the nobility abandoned Canada at the time of the British Conquest. He claims that it was only the official class who left the country then and he gives Carleton's list of the Canadian nobles who remained in Canada and supplements it by many other names. It is clear therefore that in many French Canadians of to-day flows the noble blood of the old régime. M. Desprès describes the standing of the nobility under Murray and under Carleton. For his material he has been chiefly dependent upon such works as the *Constitutional Documents* published by the Canadian Archives. There is no evidence of independent research beyond the making of the lists of those entitled to rank as noble.

Related to this study is the attractive volume *Armorial du Canada Français*, by E.-Z. Massicotte and Régis Roy, with an Introduction by Abbé A. Couillard-Desprès and illustrations by Alfred Asselin (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1915; pp. xiii, 152). The Abbé Desprès has written an introduction, but the work really consists of the coats of arms, one to a page, of those who lived or served in Canada officially and were entitled to bear arms. Of these there are about one hundred and forty and a farther series is suggested. The arms are well drawn and they show with what exquisite taste the heraldry of France was directed. First come the arms of the Viceroys, then those of the Lieutenants-General. Then come the clergy (the order is significant), followed by the Governors-General, Intendants, military officers, discoverers, seigneurs and officials. There is a Heraldic Vocabulary helpful to the unlearned reader. Perhaps the most attractive of all the arms are those of Cavelier de la Salle. The volume, the preparation of which has involved much

care, does great credit to the heraldic scholarship of its authors.

The paper read before the Royal Society of Canada (*Transactions*, ser. iii, vol. x, sect. j, pp. 247-273) entitled *A propos d'une opinion de Montalembert sur le Canada*, by Antonio Perrault, relates to a charge of disloyalty laid against Montalembert under the Third Empire in France because he had praised publicly Britain's record in Canada compared with that of France. Montalembert's remarks are of no real importance. What is interesting is the tone of the writer who does not agree that Britain was a liberal conqueror but claims that any liberties secured by the French Canadians have been won in a stern fight against tyranny and concludes that vigilance against oppression is as necessary to-day as ever it was.

La Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne for May 1915 has a valuable article, re-issued in separate form, on *L'Intérêt Sociologique de Notre Histoire au Lendemain de la Conquête*, by Léon Gérin (pp. 14). M. Gérin is a scientific student of social problems and his analysis of the social development between the Conquest in 1760 and the setting up of representative institutions in 1791 is acute. During this period occurred a new grouping of interests not on racial but on social lines. The seigneurs drew away from the French peasantry and worked with the English military class, while the incoming British traders opposed this class and were in large measure in sympathy with the American Revolution. In the end the Church, so peculiarly French in its characteristics, stood with the English ruling class. The habitant soon gained a new independence which became fully apparent as soon as he secured a vote. M. Gérin has relied for information chiefly upon the material published by the Canadian Archives and by the late Abbé Verreau. He should not make Pitt Prime Minister in 1757; he was Secretary of State for War.

The Mississippi Valley in British Politics. A study of the trade, land speculation, and experiments in imperialism culminating in the American Revolution. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. Two volumes. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1917. Pp. 358, 396.

The history of Quebec from 1763 to 1774 acquires a contribution of more than passing value from this latest work of Professor Alvord. The title suggests a sectional study; but the treatment in part is inclusive enough to apply to Canada as well as to the old Ohio-Mississippi country. The vast lands acquired by the treaty of 1763 imposed upon the office of the Board of Trade and of the Secretary of State concerned with the colonies problems of quite unprecedented difficulty. To deal with these a policy had to be devised from conflicting views and theories; and, when devised, it had to be executed by a rapid succession of office-holders chosen from the many factions of politicians that cultivated discord in the early years of George III. The whole system has been baffling in the extreme. Professor Alvord's absorbing interest in a sectional question has induced him to unravel the entire complicated subject. His untiring research has really made clear the conditions under which one statesman after another managed or mismanaged the territorial acquisitions from the Seven Years War.

This political background of Westminster against which Professor Alvord throws the history of the Ohio-Mississippi region is, of course, applicable at the same time to Quebec; and it furnishes a most useful supplement to such a collection of official correspondence as is contained in the early part of Shortt and Doughty's *Constitutional Documents.* The imperial-mindedness of Shelburne is set off in striking relief, and his place in American continental history critically, in fact, admiringly estimated. Halifax, Hillsborough and Dartmouth are placed individually with the political group to which they were attached, and catalogued at length under the different schools of colonial and imperial thought to which they belonged.

Professor Alvord touches directly upon Canadian history in discussing the Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act. In regard to the latter he emphasizes a factor, perhaps too frequently overlooked, namely, the lack of any provision for civil administration in the French settlements of the upper country after 1763. On the history of these settlements Professor Alvord is a recognized authority, and his justification of the extension of the Quebec government to this remote region in order to meet the need of its civil administration will help to counteract the view that the Quebec Act was prompted by indirect considerations growing out of the approaching struggle with the colonies. It is difficult to follow one view about the history of Quebec that Professor Alvord entertains. So anxious is he, apparently, to free the Quebec Act from any untoward criticism, and to explain it only as an act of high-minded justice to French Canadians, that he seems to exaggerate unduly the "wrongs" of the French Canadians before 1774, and the "blunder" of the Proclamation of 1763 in introducing English law. It is not easy to escape the conclusion that Professor Alvord approached the Province of Quebec with a generous though arbitrary prepossession on the subject of its French Canadian population, and that he has perhaps quite misread this controversial chapter in the early history of Canada.

The question of retaining Canada or Guadaloupe at the peace of 1763 is discussed at much length in the early part of Volume I. The discussion serves to emphasize the difference between the two English schools of thought on the subject of colonial acquisition. The retention of Canada—which involved the Ohio-Mississippi country—it is held, marked the ascendency of the view that colonial policy should be subordinated, not to production of raw material, but to extension of settlement and population. A bibliography in Volume II of sixty-five pamphlet titles on the Canada-Guadaloupe dispute is a very valuable compilation. Of these titles forty-two, according to the bibliography, are available in the John Carter Brown library, and only six in the Dominion Archives. The John Carter Brown library,

because of its specialized collection, might naturally be expected to lead in the number of pamphlets available on this subject; but the impression given that only six of the titles are to be found in Canadian libraries is misleading. In the Redpath collection of historical tracts in the McGill University library will be found ten of the titles cited, and twelve more that do not appear at all in Professor Alvord's list. Of the sixty-five pamphlets, forty-one expressed a preference for a continental acquisition instead of an island in the West Indies. The general bibliography on which the documentation of the two volumes is based covers forty-five pages, itself an eloquent testimony to the completeness with which the preparation of the volumes has been made.

The Father of British Canada, a Chronicle of Carleton. By William Wood. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916. Pp. xi, 239.

Carleton makes a two-fold demand upon biographers, as his career divides more or less equally into military and into political history. Not every writer can do him justice in both fields at once; and Colonel Wood, who knows Carleton's services as a soldier so thoroughly, has wisely arranged this little book so as to place his hero in the foreground of a war setting. In point of extent the narrative covers Carleton's entire life; but its most vivid portion comes with the War of American Independence, and the part of Canada in the strategy of that struggle. Colonel Wood develops his sketch in a spirited style, and achieves admirably his appeal to the popular reader. Such an exciting episode as Carleton's escape past the American battery at Sorel, on his hazardous journey from Montreal to Quebec in 1775, is told graphically. The account of the siege of Quebec by Montgomery's and Arnold's forces stands out as one of the best we have within a small compass; and the map to illustrate the siege is clear and useful.

Colonel Wood rightly praises the bravery and endurance of Arnold's men in their toilsome march up the Kennebec;

though he omits much picturesque detail that might well have been introduced. He also prefers not to relieve by even more picturesque detail his account of the gathering of the Loyalist refugees in New York previous to the Treaty of Paris. In fact, one rather gets the impression that Colonel Wood is a little too much inclined perhaps to use Carleton's life, and the War of American Independence particularly, as a vehicle for military and political sermonizing—pointing lessons and morals, chiefly at the expense of "rebels", where graphic touches would have been the more acceptable. If the Thirteen Colonies achieved independence, let Colonel Wood put the blame on Providence—if blame is needed. The old Tory militarist school must realize by now that its attempt still to continue the campaign against the colonies by process of moral blockade and attrition is perfectly futile and at least a century out of date.

A military writer, dealing with civilians, may take a certain license with strong and vehement language: yet Colonel Wood does not always use his freedom with discrimination. Thus, he has abundant reason to censure Lord George Germain for the incident of the despatches to Howe in 1777; but the censure he employs is hardly to be distinguished from abuse. One reproachful epithet succeeds another, until, by way of climax, Germain is called:—"that shameless political assassin". Now Germain was admittedly incompetent, and he fumbled badly. But he can scarcely be called shameless in this connection; and he was not an assassin. Again, however resentful Carleton's apologists may be towards Germain on account of the governor's first resignation, still, the fact remains that Carleton did allow himself a serious impropriety of language towards Germain as his official superior—language that the King himself declared to be too caustic to be tolerated. Does it not place Colonel Wood as a military authority in rather an incongrous position to be condoning such an act of official insubordination? In a further instance, when Colonel Wood is describing the earliest British settlers in Quebec after the cession, the language of the book seems to err on the in-

temperate side. These traders were given a bad name by Murray; and his description has been accepted, perhaps uncritically, as authoritative. But it has remained for Colonel Wood to curse them as a "vile camp-following gang".

Of Carleton's memorable work in civil administration this book is singularly unappreciative. But it would be well not to urge criticism too far in this respect. Carleton's quite wonderful genius as a statesman has yet to be studied; the work should be done by a civilian without prejudices. Carleton the soldier we know quite well; and Colonel Wood has made him live again in these pages.

As a very minor point, attention might be called to a confusion that may occur in referring to Carleton's peerage title. On the first page of the book Carleton is described as "first Baron Dorchester". Technically this is not correct. There were two baronies of Dorchester running simultaneously: one, for Dorchester, county Dorset; the other for Dorchester, county Oxford. In point of time the Dorset barony was the first. Carleton's proceeded from county Oxford, and his full title is better given as First Baron Dorchester, County Oxford. The statement (p. 205) that under the Constitutional Act "Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal and Sorel got each two members in the new parliament", is manifestly incorrect; and exception must be taken to other instances throughout the narrative in which the constitutional history of Quebec has been interpreted ill-advisedly.

In *Some British Soldiers in America*, by Captain W. H. Wilkin (London: Hugh Rees, 1914; pp. xiii, 279), a chapter is devoted to Carleton, and one to Simcoe. The former is disposed of in twenty pages; the latter in twenty-six. In neither will anything new be found; nor can either be recommended as a serviceable military biography. Captain Wilkin wrote to try to interest army officers in the War of American Independence. The preparation of his book required a fairly wide range of reading, which has been mastered evidently quite thoroughly. But, most unfortu-

nately, Captain Wilkin's compilation of his material is so fragmentary and disjointed, that his chapters are really forbidding in their incoherence. One wonders if even a military writer is not rather overdoing professional superciliousness when he can say of the War of American Independence, as Captain Wilkin does, that "in [this war] British officers first showed their aptitude for commanding colonial irregulars".

The New Régime, 1765-1767. Volume II, British Series. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume XI.) Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1916. Pp. xxviii, 700.

The material for the early history of the Illinois country under British occupation is distributed among archives and repositories in the United States, Canada, England and France; and part of it is in common with the history of Canada in the years following 1763. For the brief period of this history, from February 24, 1765 to July 15, 1767, the compilers of this volume have collected and printed documents covering six hundred pages of text. Much of the material, such as the plans and projects of colonization promoters, has a direct bearing on the Illinois country only; though indirectly it illustrates views of colonial policy held by differing schools of thought within the English political parties of the day. The correspondence of General Gage both with the superintendent of Indian Affairs and with the commandants at Fort de Chartres has an obvious bearing on Canadian history; and it appears here in accessible form. The official version of the military rule begun over the French civilian population in the Illinois settlements by the British commandants is contained in the reports of the latter to General Gage; while, from a different angle, the letters that pass between the missionary priests of the settlements and Monseigneur Briand at Quebec are essentially a part of the history of the old Quebec diocese. In general, wher-

ever the history of the Illinois country is linked with that of Canada or Great Britain, during the period under survey, this printed collection will be found very serviceable.

The volume is open to one criticism, though by no means a serious one, in point of form. Presumably it was drawn up for the especial use of school and college students in Illinois, as a source book or book of reference. Even for this purpose it will be difficult for any but the two editors themselves to use it. The arrangement they have adopted being in the main chronological, the documents are grouped into "chapters" on the basis of a topical affinity. It may happen, and often does, that letters are included within "chapters" though they have no relation to the chapter topic. The only indication of the contents of a chapter is a few suggestive titles under the chapter heading. To take an example—Chapter II is described topically as: Occupation of Fort de Chartres. Then follow:—"The troops muster at Fort Pitt. Captain Stirling is chosen". On reference to the text this is found to refer to one letter only, of about half a page in length. Then comes: "Gage and Johnson both write". About what? Or to whom? There is no indication. A reference to the text shows that this amazing title does duty for a long series of fifteen letters! Really these letters, in fact the entire collection of documents, should have been properly listed in the usual way. The absence of any list at all destroys half the reference value of the book.

It would have been most convenient, and a matter of very little extra secretarial work, if the editors could have contributed a table showing at a glance what documents came from each of the different archives or repositories; and indicating which of these are reprints and which are published for the first time. Thus the signs of abbreviation at the beginning of the book show that use has been made of the church archives in Quebec. But to what extent there is no means of judging until the whole volume has been gleaned for the purpose of discovering them. It then appears that while some of these have been printed elsewhere, others also

are used for the first time. The same is true for the correspondence taken from the Colonial Office files in the Public Record Office. If the device had been adopted of classification according to source, the indebtedness of the editors to separate archives would be evident at a glance, and the documents could be consulted from that standpoint. It is to be hoped that when the next volume of this series is made up the editors will see their way clear to include such lists.

Documents in French are accompanied by translations. For the most part the translating could hardly pass as better than perfunctory, the *nuances* of the original vanishing in the English version.

Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779. Edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg. (Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Collections, Volume XXIII. Draper Series, Volume IV.) Madison, 1916. Pp. 509.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin makes a useful contribution to the printed sources of western history by the publication of this volume. It consists of selections from the Draper Manuscripts, drawn chiefly from the American army reports, and illustrating every phase of the border warfare in the attack of the American forces upon the western posts, from May 1778 to July 1779. The letters to and from the American headquarters staff correlate the frontier advance on the upper Ohio with the general strategy of the War of Independence. But of more immediate interest are the reports exchanged between officers in the field, written so circumstantially as to reflect every minute detail of the frontier struggle. No British reports have been included, except for one or two letters from Clinton to Haldimand, which appear in the Draper Manuscripts as copies from transcripts made for the Jared Sparks collection. Otherwise we have a complete view of the American attack from American sources only.

The material in the volume can be used serviceably for the history of the western posts; for the chief objective of

the Americans in the western war was the capture of Detroit. On that subject the reports are fairly extensive, particularly in regard to the presence of American sympathizers in the town. One or two reports touch upon the subject of the French Canadians in the western settlements, and their equivocal position as between American and British. Meagre also are notices of the western Loyalists; a type whose services under frontier conditions parallel the services of Loyalists in the eastern campaign. Such slight material as there is on these two last points can be gathered from the index, which, aside from an historical introduction by the editor, is the only guide to what the volume contains. It would be greatly to the advantage of readers if the committees in charge of such collections could see their way clear to include in each volume proper listings of its documents, either chronologically or alphabetically or both.

British Policy on the Canadian Frontier, 1782-1792: Mediation and an Indian Barrier State. By Orpha E. Leavitt. (Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Proceedings, Sixty-Third Annual Meeting, October 1915, pp. 151-185.)

Miss Leavitt's study covers the decade from 1782 to 1792; but its special contribution to the question of the western posts comes from the author's careful research into the diplomatic correspondence arising at the crisis that preceded Jay's treaty. Miss Leavitt has made good use of the Dominion Archives for this phase of the relations between Great Britain and the United States. The extent of the material would have justified a much longer paper than is here offered; in fact, the article would gain from less condensation. It establishes two points of interest to each side of the controversy:—one, in showing that the British did not stir up the western Indians to hostility against the United States; another, in making it clear that the Home Government was anything but ingenuous in the claim put forward that the western posts were retained to offset the fact that the United States had not lived up to its treaty

agreement in the matter of debts due to British subjects. And, if the truth must be told, the whole design of an Indian buffer state on the frontier seems to have been a strange piece of disingenuousness that had not the merit even of misleading anybody. The efforts of Hammond, the British Minister to the United States, to lay the scheme of a buffer state before Hamilton and Jefferson are given fully from his correspondence in a series of extracts which are quite the most interesting part of the article.

Throughout, from the official reports, it is clear that the interests of the fur trade were chiefly considered in western policy, and that it was not until the Home Government felt satisfied that this trade could be pursued with equal advantage on the Canadian side of the frontier that it saw its way clear to entertain the idea of relinquishing the posts. On this subject, certain memoranda of Grenville's, of the year 1790, which Miss Leavitt prints (pp. 167-168), are well worth considering.

An American university student may be forgiven for thinking that in England "lords" are created, as such; and that Carleton (p. 158 n. 23) was created "Lord" Dorchester, instead of Baron Dorchester. The difference in Canada between a governor and a lieutenant-governor may seem an unnecessary distinction to insist upon; yet, strictly speaking, it deserves more punctilious recognition than it receives in this paper. As a naïve and absolutely colourless version of the War of 1812 the following (p. 185) is worth quoting for its unconscious humour:—"In the War of 1812 the Americans manifested an aggressive attitude towards Canada"!

The Loyalist Refugees of New Hampshire. By W. H. Siebert. (Bulletin of the Ohio State University, vol. xxi; pp. 23.)

The Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut. By W. H. Siebert. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series iii, vol. x, sect. ii, pp. 75-92.)

There are obvious points of special interest in approaching the history of the refugee Loyalists through the separate colonies to which they originally belonged. Professor Siebert publishes two short papers, of about twenty pages each, localizing the fortunes of refugees from New Hampshire and Connecticut. The first passes in review the fate of the Loyalists who left New Hampshire; the second disposes of the same subject for Connecticut. The treatment is much the same in both—for the most part statistical and biographical—and the resemblances in the two sets of circumstances appear more striking than the contrasts.

Professor Siebert begins with what evidence the records show of the number, character and occupation of the Loyalists who fled the two colonies at the outbreak of hostilities. He finds that in New Hampshire 773 men declined the Association test, of whom, except 200 Quakers, a large number were proscribed. For Connecticut he estimates that of the 2,000 men known to be Loyalists in 1776 at least half became refugees. The part taken by these in the Loyalist regiments is discussed at some length; especially the services of the New Hampshire Loyalists in the King's American Dragoons, and of the Connecticut men in the Queen's Rangers. Both papers conclude with brief statements of the distribution of the refugees from the two colonies respectively through the Maritime Provinces, following the migration at the close of the war.

Professor Siebert has restricted each paper to an outline only. With more space the treatment could have been fuller, particularly in regard to more critical biographical details. For example, the name of Peter Livius, Esq., appears among the list of Loyalists from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, proscribed in 1778, along with Governor Wentworth and others. It is doubtful if Livius can be classed as a refugee; and it may leave a misleading impression to include him in this list without explaining his actual status. For it would appear that he withdrew from New Hampshire as early as 1773, and exchanged his subsequent appointment as chief justice of the province to that of judge of the Common

Pleas in the province of Quebec, proceeding from London to Montreal in 1775. But both papers will be found very useful for their subject.

Mr. C. M. Burton, the well known historiographer of Detroit, publishes No. 1 of *Manuscripts from The Burton Historical Collection* (edited by M. Agnes Burton, Detroit, 1916; pp. 32). They relate chiefly to territory now within the United States. There is an appreciative letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Sir William Johnson written from Quebec in March, 1768. Another letter from a Mr. Greene to John Trumbull, dated September 29, 1792, shows both hatred of the British and a fear that American independence was not secure in spite of the recent surrender of Cornwallis in the previous year.

"I think we should suspect everything the british do or say. They ought to be regarded as old liars not credited even tho they should speak the truth. If they make peace with us it is from necessity and not out of any affection or good will towards us. Nor is it certain but that they will try to humble the pride of France and then begin anew with us. . . . The disaffection of the people has multiplied the calamities of war. The weeping widows and the distressed Orphan fills the land with mourning. And every part of the Country exhibits monuments of british fury" (p. 20).

Mr. Burton will continue the publication if the demand justifies it, as we hope it will.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell contributes to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (ser. iii, vol. x, sect. ii, pp. 321-337) *The King* v. *David McLane*. There is nothing new in this sketch of the trial of David McLane, and his execution for treason at Quebec in 1797. The incident is one which scarcely needs reviving unless new material be forthcoming. It involved no unusual point of law; and only a perverted taste could acknowledge any antiquarian interest in the revolting details of McLane's execution. From a purely judicial and legal standpoint Mr. Justice Riddell argues for the fairness of this poor man's trial, and the absence of any unnecessary cruelty in the actual doing him to death. There was never any question as to the formal correctness of procedure in the trial; nor as to the technical

substantiation of the verdict through the evidence. The real objection is that the evidence itself and the reports of the man's conduct and his speeches raise the strongest presumption that he was more fitly a candidate for the insane asylum than for disembowelling. Mr. Justice Riddell evidently does not see that a criminal trial, in which the procedure was beyond reproach, may have been guided by a political motive; and that at a time when the home government, for the sake of an exemplary verdict, was prosecuting Horne Tooke, Hardy and Thelwall on perfectly frivolous charges of treason, it was only natural that the prevailing hysteria should affect both the bench and the subservient law officers of the Crown in Quebec.

The set of records, *Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit*, compiled by Clarence M. Burton, Historiographer of the City of Detroit, and edited by M. Agnes Burton (Detroit, 1915; pp. 314) originated from the fire that devastated the old town of Detroit in June 1805. An Act of Congress, passed April 21, 1806, authorized the governor and judges of the Territory of Michigan to sit as a land board to adjust titles arising from former occupation in the burned area. The decision of the board to rebuild Detroit upon an entirely different street plan entailed upon the commissioners the task of assigning to claimants city lots under the new plotting that gave them adequate satisfaction for their losses under the old. The proceedings of the board bear almost exclusively upon local history. Its sittings, we find, were practically suspended during the War of 1812, and a statement on page 58 declares that "the records and public papers of the Territory were destroyed or carried off by the British troops during their temporary occupation of the country". The records printed in this collection end in 1821, but the manuscript volumes of proceedings carry the sittings of the board through 1836. It is really on the genealogical side that this book has a more than local interest. An appendix to the records, covering pages 148 to 231, enumerates over two hundred and fifty

names of families and individuals proffering claims before the board. The genealogical notes attached to each name reveal the diverse origin of the residents of the old town. The number of Americans is, of course, large; so also is the number of French Canadians. Among the latter a good proportion had moved to Detroit from Quebec and Montreal. But there is a fair sprinkling also of persons of British birth. In 1796 a few of these had elected for the moment to remain British, and had crossed the river to live in Upper Canada. However, they preferred eventually to return to Detroit, and their names appear among the claimants for lots under the board's redistribution.

Record of the Services of Canadian Regiments in the War of 1812, Part XIII: The Militia of the Eastern District, Counties of Glengarry, Stormont and Dundas. By Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank. (Selected Papers from the Transactions of the Canadian Military Institute, Number 21, pp. 69-98.)

General Cruikshank has put together in this paper illustrative extracts from the regimental and staff reports of the War of 1812, preserved in the Dominion Archives. The extracts explain very graphically the local conditions under which companies were organized and drilled in Glengarry, Stormont and Dundas at the outbreak of the war; and, further, the part assigned to these local regiments in the general defence of the province, and the share they took in the engagements occurring in the Eastern District. As a rule the extracts tell their own story, and they are admirably selected for that purpose; though there would have been fewer technical obstacles to confront the layman, perhaps, if General Cruikshank had inserted more explanatory and connecting paragraphs of his own. One of the striking features of military administration during the war was the difficulty, on account of desertions, of keeping the militia units intact. One report, of January 1813, attributing this to the impolitic method of assigning officers, declares:

"From the constant and numerous desertions of the militia, it is next to an impossibility ever to calculate on the force you can bring into action. This I principally attribute to the incapacity of the generality of the officers who have been for the most part selected from family connection without reference to capacity or respectability. The advantage accruing from having young men of local interest placed at the head of companies has never been made a subject of consideration, on the contrary, men are placed in important and responsible situations who have . . . in many instances irreparably injured the service by their imbecility and precept."

In November of the same year another officer vents his feelings to the same effect:

"I am sorry to report that we have many desertions of the militia to their homes. The dreadful state of the roads and the severe rainy weather has tended to excite a disposition to this criminal conduct, and the inefficiency of many old but ignorant and indolent officers to keep them under control" (p. 193).

A very curious feature of the war in the Eastern District was the virtual truce improvised along both the Canadian and the American side of the river. Under cover of this the Canadians bought supplies for their military posts from the American side. A report from Cornwall in 1814 attests this by the following unusual incident:

"I have contracted with a Yankee magistrate to furnish this post with fresh beef. A major came with him to make the agreement; but as he was foreman to the Grand Jury . . . he turned his back and would not see the paper signed" (p. 98).

By following closely the official reports on both the American and British side, General Cruikshank has written for the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (Series iii, vol. x, sect. ii, pp. 161-224) one of the clearest accounts we have of *The Contest for the Command of Lake Ontario in 1812 and 1813*. For the American side he follows the correspondence between Chauncey and the Secretary of the Navy, with an occasional letter from Wilkinson to Dearborn; for the British side the correspondence directed to Prevost from both the military and naval services. For the greater part of the article General Cruikshank lets Chauncey and Yeo each give his own version of the contest, so that we see the struggle through the eyes of the two commanders mostly concerned. Each commander, though conscious, as the reports show, of the ulterior issue bound up with the question of naval ascendency, remained principally concerned with the immediate business in hand, which was to contrive a

balance of tonnage and armament in his own favour. The struggle for the command of the lake seems really to have been a feverish contest of the rival shipyards in extemporizing armed vessels. It is through this quantitative and technical phase of equipment that General Cruikshank traces his narrative, rather than through exploits of seamanship and actual encounters. Not that the latter are neglected; but the strategy of the war appears as incidental to the competition for equipment; in fact, it is really made intelligible through terms of equipment. The tone of eminent reasonableness and fairness in which General Cruikshank writes, and the obviously straightforward professional candour and accuracy of the narrative make this article a most readable war study.

The 'Patriotes' of '37, a Chronicle of the Lower Canadian Rebellion. By Alfred D. DeCelles. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916. Pp. xi, 140.

This little sketch of the "Patriotes" is as truly delightful as such a subject could be made. M. DeCelles has contented himself with 133 pages only of text, really an essay too short for amplitude of detail, but long enough to display the author's rare perception and charity of judgment. In a field where partisanship might have been bitter and censorious, he has been scrupulously fair, candid and reasonable. This is not to say that the gravity of the crisis of 1837 has been explained away. On the contrary, the shortcomings of both sides are made to stand out clearly enough—as much by implication as in any other way—but without rancorous censure. Insurrection is of course insurrection, however "patriotic"; but while M. DeCelles does not disguise the ghastly accompaniments of the outbreak, he is careful to point out that its suppression by Colborne was marked by signal moderation. By way of epilogue he traces the later careers of many of the "Patriotes", both French-speaking and English-speaking—perhaps to make clear the spasmodic character of this armed protest that wrecked the old

colonial régime and its vicious system of privilege. More than half the book traces the nationalist question from the Constitutional Act to Lord Gosford's administration; so that the actual events of 1837 and 1838 are told within about sixty pages. The text was written originally in French; the task of translating was undertaken by Mr., now Major, Stewart Wallace, and the flavour of the original, we should judge, has been admirably preserved. There is a useful bibliographical note at the end, and the map to illustrate the disaffected region around Montreal is, as in all the Chronicles of Canada series, exceptionally good.

The Winning of Popular Government, a Chronicle of the Union of 1841. By Archibald MacMechan. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916. Pp. xi, 172.

Professor MacMechan's contribution to the Chronicles of Canada shows that his approach to the subject of responsible government is more that of a student of biography than of parliamentary technique. It would seem that he looks upon executive responsibility not as a problem of political institutions so much as a problem of personal and individual character. To any reader anticipating a chapter in constitutional history, or an essay in the mechanism of House of Commons government, the book is at first disconcerting. Substantially it limits itself to an interpretation—for it is more than a sketch—of the men taking a leading official part in Canadian government from Durham to Elgin.

It is vivid portraiture; predominantly subjective in analysis; and rich in a wealth of literary allusions. Within the shortest compass—for the text does not exceed one hundred and sixty-five small pages—there are character studies of Durham, Sydenham, Bagot, Metcalfe and Elgin that are miniatures of the most admirable sort. The finest touches, as befits his position in the movement, are reserved naturally for Lord Elgin. In fact, one rather gets the impression that in the author's mind, it was Elgin, with his bravery and evangelical piety, who really "won" responsible

government. The captious critic may say that after all this is only a recrudescence of the Carlylean heroic view of history. Very true; and the point would not be ill taken. Nevertheless, even with good intent, the personal qualities of Elgin ought not to be dissociated by the mechanistic student of politics from his weight and influence as an executive. The evolution of responsible government was as much a conflict of minds and persons as of abstract systems; and Mr. MacMechan does well to refresh our memories with this elementary principle.

As a chronicle the circumstantial narrative is of course much condensed; but it is ample enough to make a fairly complete short history of the period.

M. Henri Gérin-Lajoie, the author of an excellent book on the history of Canada between 1840 and 1850, discusses *L'établissement du gouvernement responsable au Canada* in the *Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne* (pp. 57-84). While the article lacks any charm of style it shows adequate learning. The author sees rightly that a vital point in the history of Canada was settled when Sir Charles Bagot, in 1842, made what he called the "great plunge", broke with Sydenham's policy of excluding the French from his Cabinet and called to office a ministry in which a French-Canadian, M. Lafontaine, played the chief rôle. M. Gérin-Lajoie traces through to the days of Lord Elgin the struggle for complete self-government in Canada. With some justice he points out the inconsistency of the Colonial Office during that period; it approved of Sydenham's plan to govern through a Canadian Cabinet, of Metcalfe's reversal of the policy, and of the matured system of responsible government accepted by Elgin. The truth is that the Colonial Office approved of what its representative in Canada asked it to accept and its very wobbling showed that the only possible policy was that which was regulated by Canadian opinion.

The Fathers of Confederation, a Chronicle of the Birth of the Dominion. By A. H. U. Colquhoun. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916. Pp. xi, 200.

It is quite obvious from Dr. Colquhoun's little book that he has been a long and diligent student of the period in Canadian history which resulted in the present federation. The material is still scattered; much of it is of an unsatisfactory character; for instance only a meagre record has been preserved of the Conference at Quebec, in 1864, at the time when federation was agreed upon. This was really the vital meeting and we should have welcomed a full daily record. The members of the Conference were, however, united upon excluding reporters. They were less conscious than are we that they were making history, or they would have preserved the record of their own wisdom. By way of compensation we have the fullest report of the Confederation debates in the Canadian provinces. There is no official report of the debates in the legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The newspapers of the time are important sources of information and the pamphlet literature is considerable. All this material Dr. Colquhoun has consulted and the result is a book based upon adequate research.

Dr. Colquhoun's interpretation of events is always fair and sane. He discusses earlier attempts at union, the difficulties in the way, the leaders of the time, the successive conferences and debates, the setting up of the federal system, the extension of Canada to the Pacific, and the quality of "the work of the Fathers". He does not attempt the impossible task of apportioning credit to the leaders in the great achievement. He does, however, give to Sir Georges Etienne Cartier, the French Canadian leader, high praise for his courage in bringing his province into line. The French Canadians had a memory of Durham's plan of union which was to involve their own political extinction. For this reason they were suspicious of union and Cartier had to educate his friends. At the opposite pole to Cartier was George Brown, the leader in Upper Canada, whose radical

mind rather favoured a type of government akin to that of the United States. Brown would have had executive officers elected at the polls for the provinces at least. The legislatures should be chosen for three years and there should be no power to dissolve them. Brown, though radical, was in no sense republican and he, like others, was willing to hurry over details because the Privy Council would arbitrate in disputes about powers.

Dr. Colquhoun discusses the causes which led to federation and considers of first importance the American civil war. "The first gun fired at Fort Sumter had a message for us" said D'Arcy McGee. Fear is a great force in politics, as we see in the vast sums nations will spend in defence, and it played its part in the federation of Canada. But all was not due to fear. Most of these leaders had dreamed dreams of a great British state in North America. Their work was the first great federation in the British Empire.

Dr. Colquhoun's account of what happened in London when the Bill was framed is of special interest at this time. It was the halcyon days of *laissez-faire*. Gladstone, Bright and other leaders were ready and in some cases anxious to get rid of Canada. Sir Frederick Rogers, the permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, was the chief official with whom the Canadian delegates had relations. He had no belief that Canada should remain linked to Great Britain. His opinion, he said, was founded "first on the general principle that a spirited nation (and a colony becomes a nation) will not submit to be governed in its internal affairs by a distant government, and that nations geographically remote have no such common interests as will bind them permanently together in foreign policy with all its details and mutations" (p. 122). Such an appeal helped to create a chilling atmosphere. The Foreign Office confronted a delicate situation with the United States because of the *Alabama* question. The Canadians desired a "Kingdom" of Canada. It has never been made clear when or how the word "Dominion" came to be adopted, but the Foreign

Office would not have "Kingdom" lest the American republic should take offence.

We close Dr. Colquhoun's little book, feeling that it is a sound and scholarly contribution to the history of Canada. He is critical of men and anxious to do justice but only justice to everyone. The book is quite detached in respect to political feeling. Bishop Stubbs, a High Churchman and a Tory, boasted that no one could tell from his writings on history whether he was conservative or radical and we may pay Dr. Colquhoun the same compliment. His Bibliographical Note is valuable and shows careful research.

The Life and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., K.C.M.G. Edited by E. M. Saunders. 2 vols. London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: Cassell & Company, 1916. Pp. viii, 319, 298.

Sir Charles Tupper. By Hon. J. W. Longley. Toronto: Makers of Canada (Morang) Limited, 1916. Pp. 304.

Posterity will not complain that it has not an adequate literature respecting Sir Charles Tupper. We reviewed last year his own rather barren *Recollections of Sixty Years* and the year before a volume by Mr. Harkin, of a similar character. Now we have what may be regarded as the elaborate official biography by Dr. Saunders, a life-long friend and admirer of Sir Charles Tupper and one who, we regret to know, has followed him rapidly to the grave, and a shorter book, one of *The Makers of Canada* series by Mr. Justice Longley, also a friend and admirer of Sir Charles, though a political opponent. These two works constitute a full, adequate, and sympathetic record of Tupper's political career. While we might hesitate about calling him a great man we must admit that he played a strenuous and striking part at a crisis in the political history of Canada. It was his resolution and strategy which not merely brought Nova Scotia into the union with Canada, in 1867, but also reconciled to the union its chief enemy in Nova Scotia, Joseph

Howe, and thus made it certain that no sincere and serious effort to repeal the union should again be made. It is true that the spectre of repeal haunted Nova Scotia politics long after Howe died in 1873, but, by winning Howe, Tupper had effectively and for all time scotched any vital opposition. The man who achieved such a task is entitled to rank high among the makers of Canada.

The really great work of Tupper was that for federation in his native province. In the wider field at Ottawa he was always conspicuous but he was in considerable measure overshadowed in the public mind by the greater prominence of Macdonald. The two men seemed to have remained always on excellent terms and it was to Tupper that Macdonald turned in his hours of need. In the crisis of the relations between the government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Macdonald wrote to him on February 27, 1885:

"I shall feel the want of you sadly next month. Pope and Tilley are both broken down in health. The rest are of little assistance. Chapleau will, I think, be a strength bye and bye. He is working well in harness. I find, however, that I cannot be absent for an hour without some blunder taking place. We want new blood sadly" (Vol. II, p. 46).

It was to Tupper that the great railway company looked for help. In 1885 the Company was on the verge of bankruptcy and its president, Mr. George Stephen, now Lord Mountstephen, was almost in despair about the support from Macdonald which was vital. On April 10, 1885, he wrote to Tupper:

"Had you been here, all our affairs would have been disposed of a month ago. Sir John seems to have no one to help him with anything. The consequence is that everything 'drifts'. I never supposed it possible that our matters would be put off to this time. The delay has done us irreparable harm. So far as I can see nothing has been gained by it, even politically. One result of this procrastination has been to fairly weary me out personally. I have been almost living at Ottawa since the 10th December last trying, but apparently in vain, to impress Sir John with the extreme urgency of our case. I know and believe he has the best possible intentions, but it seems as if it were impossible for him to act until the last moment arrives. The struggle to keep the company from a collapse has been terrible" (Vol. II, p. 48).

Tupper was not to go without his reward. Dr. Saunders now tells us that in July, 1885, Sir Charles met the directors of the Company at Montreal and received, in addition to their thanks, one thousand shares of their common stock,

then selling at 45. The propriety of such a gift to a member of the government is surely open to question and had the opponents of Tupper of the time been aware of it they would have given him some very bad moments in Parliament. Apparently the gift was recorded on the minutes of the Company as a normal business transaction. It is to be hoped that there are not many such in the annals of Canada. A minister of the crown should be free from any taint that he is influenced by anything but the public interest. Probably the railway company would justify its act by saying that the stock was a free gift after the service was rendered with no promise of reward. But the cynic will answer that a hint of reward to come would be enough. Such transactions are a mark of that low tone of public life in Canada which at a later time Mr. J. S. Willison told Sir Charles he had helped to produce. After he received the gift he was called upon more than once to support in Parliament great favours to the railway.

Tupper, like his chief, Sir John Macdonald, represented Canada in negotiations with the United States and was strenuous for Canadian rights. The treaty agreed upon, which affected chiefly the fisheries of Canada and Newfoundland, was finally rejected by the Senate of the United States. It was only after the death of Macdonald that Tupper became again of first importance in Canadian public life. Macdonald had written, in 1890, that "our Ministry is too old and too long in office" and that Langevin, his possible successor, was "inert and useless". It was true enough. Tupper looked upon his son Charles as the rising hope of the Conservative party. It is quite clear that he did not himself desire to become Prime Minister, unless it were to prepare the way for his son. He thought, indeed, that it would be well for the Conservatives to go out of office for a time. Yet the old warrior was ready for a fight. He became Prime Minister in 1896 when he was seventy-five years old. The story of his activities is almost incredible. Day after day he addressed two or three great public meetings and for weeks can have had almost no rest. On June 11, 1896,

"he addressed three great meetings, judged to be without parallel in western Ontario—at 9.30 a.m. he met six thousand farmers at Exeter; at 1.30 at Strathroy, with bands and processions; in the evening at Peterborough (*sic*), processions again and hundreds unable to obtain admission. At 10.30 a.m. on the following day he addressed a meeting at Glencoe, and spoke for an hour and a quarter. He left Glencoe at one. At two he spoke to ten thousand people at Chatham. The meeting was held in the open air, and was preceded by a procession. Sir Charles left at 5 p.m., gave a short address at Stony Point and Bell River, and reached Windsor at 6 p.m. A great crowd met him at the station. He addressed a meeting of two thousand in the Opera House for two hours and a half" (Vol. II, p. 205).

His efforts were in vain and the Liberal party led by Laurier came into power in 1896. Tupper lived to see Laurier fall, in 1911, as a result of one of those negotiations with Washington which have played so fatal a part in the history of Canada.

Dr. Saunders has performed his task with credit if not with special distinction. There are a good many minor slips such as "Carron" for Caron (II. p. 140); the "Duchess" of Aberdeen (II. p. 143); and Mr. T. C. "Patterson" for Patteson (I. p. 248). We hear too much of Tupper's "inspired grand" efforts. The portraiture of Sir Charles is on the whole attractive. We have a pretty picture of him at the age of eighty-four beginning to learn Italian with his grandchild. He was apparently an excellent linguist. His opponents did not greatly dislike him for he always remembered that some day he might have to act with them.

Mr. Justice Longley is a trained man of letters. He has already written for the "Makers of Canada" series a *Life of Howe* and now he gives an account of Howe's great rival. Mr. Longley claims that Tupper, not Macdonald, was the real author of the policy of protection in Canada. He denies the charge that Tupper became wealthy while in political life but apparently does not know of the gift from the Canadian Pacific Railway which during Tupper's lifetime had a value of nearly three hundred thousand dollars and is, even in these depressed days, worth more than half that sum. Apparently Mr. Longley had not access to private papers and he does not throw any new light on Tupper's career.

The Hon. Charles Langelier, formerly one of the Liberal leaders in Quebec and now a judge, has printed a lecture to the Junior Bar of Quebec on *La Confédération, sa genèse, son etablissement* (Quebec, 1916; pp. 47). Any utterances from Quebec on the Canadian federal union are interesting just now because of the acute bi-lingual question. M. Langelier attacks Lord Durham for desiring in Canada the supremacy of the English element and he jests a little at the English loyalty to the crown expressed in stoning a Governor-General and setting fire to the Parliament Buildings in 1849. He attributes the federation chiefly to the influence of Sir John Macdonald and passes too lightly over the work of Georges Etienne Cartier. There is no evidence of very wide reading in M. Langelier's pamphlet. What is chiefly interesting is his acceptance of M. Bourassa's claim that Ontario by insisting that English shall be taught in all the elementary schools is proscribing the French language. M. Langelier cites the guarantees of Roman Catholic Separate Schools in Ontario as including the right to the exclusive use of the French language. He is surely too good a lawyer not to know that his claim depends on the wording of the Act creating the federation. When he wrote, the final judgment of the Privy Council on the point had not been given, but now this high tribunal has declared that the guarantee of Roman Catholic Separate Schools in Ontario has no reference to the language to be used. In the light of this fact perhaps M. Langelier would revise his views. His claim that the bargain made has not been kept shows how even Liberal opinion in Quebec has been stirred by the quarrel in Ontario over the use of French in the schools. M. Langelier should not accept extreme statements by agitators, that this is a deliberate attempt to exclude French from all the schools of Ontario. This is not the case. The number of French-English schools is not diminishing but increasing and in these schools in the first two forms French may be the language of instruction. Probably to-day there is a greater desire in Ontario to have French taught in the schools that there ever was before. It is true that Ontario insists that

every pupil shall learn English but there are many who would like to see French taught generally in even elementary schools, and this feeling is growing.

The Day of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a Chronicle of our Own Times. By Oscar D. Skelton. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916. Pp. xi, 340.

It is not an easy task to write the history of one's own time and to write it in a spirit of detachment from the passion of party. We may say at once that Mr. Skelton writes with remarkable insight. He has read widely and thought deeply. The result is one of the best accounts that has yet appeared of the contemporary history of Canada. It is true, of course, that Mr. Skelton sees Sir Wilfrid Laurier at his best. Sir Wilfrid's opponents charge that under his surface liberalism there is a real racialism which keeps dominant in his mind first, last and always the special interests of the province of Quebec. A man must, however, be judged by his words and deeds and Sir Wilfrid Laurier ranks only second to Sir John Macdonald as a vital factor in the development of Canadian life.

Mr. Skelton sketches briefly Sir Wilfrid Laurier's early days and in doing so explains the bitter struggle with clericalism in Quebec acute half a century ago. Laurier was always anti-clerical and as such aroused the antagonism of the Quebec bishops. It is not easy to-day to think of the dignified and courtly statesman, whose personal distinction makes him remarkable in any company, as having been at one time the editor of an obscure weekly newspaper, the hero of only village politics. Sir Wilfrid's development was rapid. At thirty he was a member of the Quebec legislature and a few years later he sat in the federal parliament at Ottawa. For forty years he has been a conspicuous figure in Canadian public life and he is still the active leader of a great party. Thus, not without ground, Mr. Skelton can call the recent history of Canada the "Day of Sir Wilfrid Laurier".

A chapter on the Liberals in opposition for nine years, chiefly under Edward Blake, is followed by one on a period of the same length under Laurier. Then came, in 1896, the final triumph for the Liberals which gave them power for sixteen years. Mr. Skelton rarely makes a mistake but he is wrong in saying that Sir Charles Tupper "dissolved Parliament" in 1896. Parliament expired by effluxion of time. The Conservatives were profoundly divided, one section being resolved to coerce Manitoba into re-establishing the abolished Roman Catholic schools, the other, chiefly Orangemen, bitterly opposed to this policy. It is, as Mr. Skelton points out, an odd fact that Manitoba voted for its own coercion, "while Quebec gave forty-eight seats out of its sixty-five to the party which its spiritual leaders had denounced" (p. 168).

The achievements of Laurier in office were first of all giving to Britain a preferential tariff, then sharing, reluctantly enough as the Conservatives charged, in the South African war, pressing immigration to the West under the leadership of Clifford Sifton and, in the end, the policy of closer trade relations with the United States. Mr. Skelton pays some attention to the successive Imperial Conferences in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier took part and his discussion of Mr. Chamberlain's attempt to create a central parliament for the Empire shows great insight. In 1902 Mr. Chamberlain had persuaded himself that a compact legislative union under the dominance of Great Britain would be possible.

> "The policy of autonomy as the basis of union was attacked as obsolete. According to the new imperialism, the control of the Empire should be centralized, should be vested in the British government, or in an Imperial council or parliament sitting at London, in which numbers and the overwhelming force of environment and social pressure would give Great Britain unquestioned dominance. Mr. Chamberlain himself shared these hopes and these limitations. He was, indeed, more popular in the colonies than any other British statesman, because he had recognized more fully than any other their strength and the value of their support. Yet he, too, laboured under the delusion that Australia and Canada were simply England beyond the seas. He not only looked at imperial questions from the point of view of one who was an Englishman first and last, but expected to find Australians and Canadians doing the same" (p. 196).

Mr. Chamberlain said boldly that he desired "a new government with large powers of taxation and legislation over

countries separated by thousands of miles" (p. 199). Probably Laurier was the chief factor in defeating this policy. Upon the Canadian leader Mr. Chamberlain brought great pressure, both social and political, but in vain.

Another topic, that of the Alaskan Boundary, Mr. Skelton discusses with both moderation and insight. He makes clear, what has never been understood either in Great Britain or in the United States, that the indignation in Canada at the award

"was not the petulant outburst of a disappointed litigant. Canada would have acquiesced without murmur if satisfied that her claims had been disproved on judicial grounds. But of this essential point she was not satisfied, and the feeling ran that once more Canadian interests had been sacrificed on the altar of American friendship. The deep underlying anti-American prejudice now ran counter to pro-British sentiment, rather than, as usual, in the same direction. Had Mr. Aylesworth, on his return, given a lead, a formidable movement for separation from Great Britain would undoubtedly have resulted" (p. 215).

The last two or three chapters of the book are concerned with the discussion of the new position of Canada in recent years. The West has attracted immigrants on a scale beyond anything seen even in the United States. Canada has ceased to be a colony and become a nation, claiming equal rank with Great Britain. She negotiates her own commercial treaties and also the political treaties which more directly touch her interests. In summarizing the effects of fifty years of federal union Mr. Skelton says:

"It fell to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's lot to carry out this traditional Canadian policy through an exceptionally critical era of development. He steadfastly asserted Canada's right to full nationhood, and as steadily faced each new responsibility that came with added rights. He often incurred the hostility of ultra-imperialist and of colonialist alike, going too slow for the one and too fast or the other" (p. 329).

The book is the work of an admirer of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Making this allowance we must pronounce it a sane, if glowing, record of the most momentous years which Canada had experienced before the outbreak of the great war.

A violent agitation has been going on in the province of Quebec in regard to Canadian Nationalism and for years M. Bourassa, in his newspaper *Le Devoir*, has been attacking British colonial rule as a tyranny and urging Canadian independence. M. Bourassa has not had it all his own way

as the pamphlet *Oú Allons-nous? Le Nationalisme Canadien* (Montreal: Société d'Editions Patriotiques, 1916; pp. 73) shows. This is a reprint of letters by "Un Patriote" to the powerful Montreal journal *La Presse.* The writer comes to the conclusion, held probably by the majority of English-speaking Canadians too, that the existing federation is working well enough and that the hot-headed journalism of men like M. Bourassa is only mischievous. The voluminous pamphlet is written in an excellent spirit. The writer thinks that Canada is happy in her relations with Great Britain without either a central parliament of the Empire or the assertion of an independence which would really make Canada dependent as a secondary nation. "We desire," he says, "neither independence nor annexation; on the contrary we desire the maintenance of the existing federation with all the advantages and the duties which this implies". This is a sane note and it probably represents the real opinion of the people of Quebec.

Report on Canadian Archives 1914-1915. By Arthur G. Doughty. Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1916. Pp. 20, 25, 255, 471.

This Report, which is dated July 31, 1916, contains an unusually valuable mass of material. After chronicling the activities of the two years the Archivist in three successive appendices gives, first of all, some interesting papers relating to the surrender of Fort St. Johns and Fort Chambly in 1775. They contain letters from Sir Guy Carleton, Colonel Prescott, General Richard Montgomery, commanding the American army, and other officers. These letters furnish an extremely interesting account of the progress of the attack on Fort St. Johns and of the terms of the final surrender. They include a diary of the events from day to day by an officer not named. There was a good deal of quarreling among the British and the papers include an elaborate account of a challenge to a duel. It is amusing now to get echoes of the bitterness of the American leaders. Major Preston refused to accept the terms offered by the victors

until the expression "I wish they had been exerted in a better cause" was entirely erased from them; "the Garrison being determined rather to die with their arms in their Hands, than submit to the Indignity of such a Reflection" (p. 16). This incident reveals the deep exasperation of the colonists and their conviction that they, and not the British, were the defenders of the existing order.

Appendix C contains, what has long been desirable to students of the Canadian constitution, the Ordinances issued by the Government of the Province of Quebec from 1768 to 1791. The earlier Ordinances were published in the Report for 1913. Governors Carleton and Haldimand made these Ordinances and they throw an interesting light on the problems of the time. Many of them relate to the administration of justice and they reveal the unsettled conditions at the period of the American Revolution. The student of the Canadian constitution now has complete the whole body of enactments made previous to the setting up of the legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada.

The most voluminous of the appendices is that containing a catalogue of pamphlets in the Canadian Archives. This corrects and replaces previous lists and is accompanied by an elaborate Index, of great value in finding one's way among the pamphlets. Of these there are 2,931 and they constitute without doubt the most complete collection in existence of pamphlet literature relating to the history of Canada. The value of this list is enhanced by numerous facsimiles of title-pages. It is satisfactory that the pages of this Appendix are numbered separately so that the indispensable catalogue can be bound by itself. It covers the period from 1611 to 1867. We hope that it may be followed by a catalogue of later pamphlets.

A Report containing such invaluable matter does infinite credit to Dr. Doughty, the Archivist. Under his direction the Archives at Ottawa have become a great national asset.

The *Annual Report* for 1916 of The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada (pp. 50) contains an interesting list

of the historic sites in Canada and Newfoundland already marked. It is more extensive than most people would have imagined. In the western provinces we find already a good many marked sites. There is an illustration of the tasteful Treaty Memorial Monument at Fort Qu'appelle, Saskatchewan, commemorating the first treaty with the western Indians made by the Crown in 1874. The Report is a most creditable production and shows a real growth of historical feeling in Canada.

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs. By J. Castell Hopkins. Fifteenth Year of Issue. Illustrated. Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company Limited, 1916. Pp. 880.

It is, perhaps, a bad habit that we come to take excellence and regularity in an established publication as a matter of course and hardly comment upon its contents. For fifteen years Mr. Hopkins has issued his annual volume and its very regularity has made comment upon it almost superfluous. Its quality has steadily improved. The volume, excellently printed and bound and easily handled, has now reached nearly nine hundred pages and there is no exaggeration in saying that it is indispensable to every serious student of Canadian affairs. In the preface to the last volume Mr. Hopkins speaks of "the immense labour put into the volume from year to year" and of "the valuable mass of historical and general information collated and co-ordinated" and adds with justice that but for his labours much of this would be lost irretrievably. His method is to read the newspapers and other periodicals and important public utterances from day to day and to preserve what is salient in this great mass of contemporary opinion. The labour represented by the book is astounding; yet all the matter is arranged so clearly that, aided by an index of names and subjects, one is able to find one's way through the book without difficulty. The successive chapters begin with "The World-War" in its broadest aspect and, step by step, one is led from the affairs of the Empire to those of the newest Canadian pro-

vinces. The chapter on "The United States and the War" is of great service to Canadian readers who do not follow the American press and who, perhaps, do not realize how much Canada has been in the minds of German plotters in the United States. The chapters following the discussion of affairs in each of the provinces relate to Transportation, to Military and Literary Affairs and, in an especial degree, to Finance. Excellent photographs of a variety of persons add to the attraction of the volume. It is not without interest that most of the portraits are those of officers serving in the war.

Mr. Hopkins has done his work in the proper spirit of a scientific historian, who does not take sides. Perhaps the best test of such detachment of mind will be found in the discussion of affairs in the province of Quebec. There is no passion even in the comments upon the utterances of M. Bourassa, who has done all he can to hinder recruiting in Quebec. If, in these days of high tension, Mr. Hopkins can maintain complete impartiality in respect to such an issue, his readers may count on his fairness of mind in dealing with all other topics. The book represents, in truth, what Canada most needs in its treatment of public affairs—a passionless review of all phases of public opinion. As yet Canada is almost entirely without that type of literature, so abundant in England, of weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies, written by specialists and scholars for an educated public. The spirit which Mr. Hopkins shows furnishes an excellent example for those who may attempt to comment, in a detached spirit, on public affairs.

Sons of Canada. Short Studies of characteristic Canadians. By Augustus Bridle. Drawings by F. S. Challoner. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1916. Pp. viii, 280.

Mr. Bridle's book is a rather obvious imitation of the studies of Mr. Gardiner of the London *Daily News* in contemporary biography. Such estimates of leading men by writers who knew them in the flesh, if written with insight and impartiality, form a valuable contribution to history.

Mr. Bridle writes with sympathy and discrimination. He has made a catholic choice of leaders. In politics we have Sir Robert Borden, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Clifford Sifton, Sir Sam Hughes, Sir William Mulock and Sir George Foster; in education, Sir William Macdonald, President Falconer, Professor James Mavor and Sir William Peterson; in journalism, John Ross Robertson, Henri Bourassa and Dr. J. A. Macdonald; in business and finance Lord Shaughnessy, Sir John Eaton, Sir Edmund Walker, Sir William Van Horne, Sir Max Aitken and Lord Strathcona; in music and fine arts Walter Allward, Dr. A. S. Vogt, E. Wyly Grier, A. S. Coté, and a few others. To each person the author attaches a descriptive phrase: to Sir Sam Hughes "hob-nailed boots", to Sir William Van Horne "prodigious". There are more than a dozen portraits by Mr. Challoner and only a few of them are really good. In some cases, as in those of Lord Strathcona, Sir Edmund Walker and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it would be difficult to recognize the originals.

For the literary quality of the book we have some measure of praise. Mr. Bridle is proficient not merely in interpreting character but also in matters of art. He seems, indeed, most at home when discussing music and painting. In spite of kindly phrasing there is an insight into limitations of character at times really striking. With what is fine in Sir Robert Borden we have described also his lack of dramatic qualities. At Toronto, fresh from the front, he "spoke to 10,000 people as though he was reading a story sent in a letter" (p. 13). Sir Wilfrid Laurier, too, while versatile and an amazingly skilful leader, "was never profound enough to become a philosopher nor intense enough for a tremendous bigot". What, by the way, does Mr. Bridle mean when he says that "Sir Wilfrid Laurier is not of a spirituelle physique?" Can a physique be witty? Sir Wilfrid, we are told, is "almost femininely magnetic". We know what Mr. Bridle means but it could be better said. Sir Sam Hughes is praised for energy "but he had so many things to do that he gave himself no time either to be worried about it or to stop talking" (p. 163). Similar phrases help

to give a pungent interest to all that Mr. Bridle says. He can do work that will live.

If, however, Mr. Bridle is to achieve this result he must learn to be more patient in study and more chaste in diction. Of the lack of study the sketch of Lord Strathcona is a glaring instance. There are copious "Lives" of Lord Strathcona but these, apparently, Mr. Bridle has not taken the trouble to read. Quite obviously he thinks that the early part of Lord Strathcona's life was spent in the North-west when, as a matter of fact, he had not visited that country until he was already prominent in the commercial life of Montreal. He never "talked American with a Scotch burr". His life as a fur trader was spent in Labrador and within fairly easy reach of Montreal. Thus to say that "books he had none except faded magazines and newspapers that straggled in a year after date by dog sled to the far front" (p. 254) is ridiculous as is also the statement that when Lord Strathcona gave up his work as a resident factor "Rupert's Land began to cease existing". He did not live in Rupert's Land until long after he had ceased to be "a resident factor". Mr. Bridle gives to Lord Strathcona the credit of building the Canadian Pacific Railway when, in fact, the real driving power was that of Lord Mountstephen. He links some of the builders of the Canadian Pacific Railway with the "Pacific Scandal". They had nothing to do with it and came on the scene at a later date.

In respect to phrasing and to names Mr. Bridle should watch himself. "An obvious emotioniser" (p. 62), "fecundating folk" (p. 83), "the brainiest man" (p. 84), "to scurrilise" (p. 85), "a forensic" (p. 100), "this voltaic little man" (p. 108), the "Abbé Samson" for "Abbot Samson" (p. 111), "Bülow" for "Bohlen" (p. 140), the Company of Gentlemen Adventurers trading into "Rupert's Land" instead of "Hudson's Bay" (p. 254), the "big parisising city" of Montreal (p. 266)—these and similar defects he should learn to avoid. Good thought is made not less but more effective by careful phrasing. We hope Mr. Bridle will continue to produce books of this type. Canada is still too

raw and crude to be analytic and Mr. Bridle's insight and vigour of style can be used to good purpose in helping to cure this defect.

The volume of *Addresses delivered before The Canadian Club of Toronto, Season of 1915-1916* (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1916, pp. x, 258) is well printed. Mr. G. A. Warburton is outspoken on the moral condition of Toronto. Massage parlors, with women practitioners and men patients, are, he says, haunts of vice; from thirty to forty per cent. of the hospital patients have venereal diseases. He found the Toronto police untainted by any collusion with criminals. The Hon. G. W. Brown, some time Governor of Saskatchewan, discussed *Western Problems* and urged that Scandinavia should be looked to for new immigrants after the war. He was emphatic on the need of free trade relations with the United States. The article by Mr. C. A. Magrath on *National Service* and by Mr. Atkinson on *The Aftermath of the War* relate to present day conditions.

The *Addresses delivered before The Canadian Club of Montreal, Season 1915-1916* (pp. 219) chiefly relate to the problems of the war and to present-day questions. Sir Thomas White, on Canadian trade and finance during the war, Mr. F. H. Sexton, Principal of the Nova Scotia Technical School, on technical education and *Our Returning Soldiers*, are both suggestive but call for no special comment.

The *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* continues to move along customary lines. There are the usual questions and answers on historical matters and short articles on unimportant and important persons. To the latter class belongs *JeanDeshayes, Hydrographe du Roi* by M. P.-G Roy. Deshayes fixed the longitude of Quebec in 1686 and also charted the St. Lawrence. His chart is preserved in Paris and ought to be published. M. E.-Z. Massicotte continues his researches in connexion with the history of Montreal and has something of interest in his contribution

Notes et Documents nouveaux sur le Fondateur de Montréal. Dr. B. Sulte writes on *La Saint-Joseph.* This article ought to be read as a preliminary to his contribution to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada on *La Saint-Jean-Baptiste* (q. v.). There are a few documents of some importance, notably *Mémoire de M. Boishébert au ministre sur les enterprises de guerre contre les Sauvages, novembre 1747.* In the interests of good work might we appeal for more accurate proof-reading and for some consistency in the spelling of proper names?

Sidelights are thrown on various phases of Canadian history by a good many articles in the *Canadian Magazine.* The tortuous career of *John Henry the Spy*, given in some detail by C. H. Blue, shows how he obtained and divulged to the United States information which inflamed public opinion in that country against Great Britain in 1812. *The Lost State*, by E. Green, deals with another incident of the war of 1812. There are two short accounts of attempted invasions from the United States in 1837, one at Windsor under Theller, by the Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell, one at Prescott under Van Shultz, by G. C. Wells. A description by H. W. Hewitt of Batoche and scenes enacted there during Riel's rebellion, and some reminiscences of Dr. George Bryce as a militiaman complete the contributions on wars of the past. *Ashes of History*, by M. O. Hammond, is an account of the old Parliament Buildings at Ottawa. *The Seigniories of the Saguenay* is an interesting story of their origins and development, and is translated from the original article that appeared in the *Bulletin* of the Geographical Society of Quebec. Most entertaining and enlightening so far as social conditions are concerned is an article by Mr. L. J. Burpee based on the study of travellers' diaries and records of travel in Canada between 1749 and 1878. Francis Hall about 1816 found "a country, one half of which is little better than a barren waste of snows, and the other a wild forest scarcely intersected by a thread of population". The laudatory biography of Lord Strathcona, by Dr. George Bryce, noticed

last year, is continued through several numbers. Articles dealing with the present describe life in an Indian village and in a lumber camp, discuss fire-ranging, homesteading, and mountaineering. The most startling is *The Devil's Poor*, by A. M. Beldney, an account of the farming out of paupers to the lowest bidder, as late as January, 1914, in the county of Carleton, New Brunswick. On political theory and economic development there are several articles. The picture painted by some of the prospective increase of trade in Canada and of great advances material and spiritual in the future is offset by another writer's somewhat cynical analysis of the present situation and the prophecy that Canada will go on much as before. The conservation of natural resources by "The New Conservation" is explained to be "the utilization of scientific research to suggest new materials and new uses for already known materials which at present are largely or totally without application, thus relieving the demand on other raw materials". This series of articles gives important data about the possibilities of chemical research in Canada.

La Nouvelle France contains two articles giving some account of the early history of Trappists and Capuchins on this continent. They are *Un Précurseur de la Trappe du Canada*, by the Abbé Lindsay, and *Les Capucins en Acadie, 1632-54*, by Brother Alberic. A long series by Brother Alexis deals with the writing of history in Canada, stating the need, advocating the study of documents and criticizing the point of view of certain Canadian historians—one ground of this criticism being a total lack of understanding of the spirit of the old régime in France. Father Morice continues his *Essai sur l'origine des Dénés de l'Amérique du Nord*. One of his conclusions is that their ancestors came from Siberia through Bering Strait and that at one time they had come under Hebraic influence which has left its mark on their customs. Still another series, *Procédés de culture forestière*, by Avila Bedard, deals with the preservation of forests and the need of scientific study along this line. *La Province de Québec et la minorité anglaise*, by M. Thomas Chapais, is a careful

exposition of the privileges granted at Confederation to the Protestant minority in Quebec, illustrated by quotations from speeches of the day. The moral drawn is that the same liberal treatment should be given the Catholic minority in Ontario to-day.

The more important papers in *Queen's Quarterly* are reviewed separately under their appropriate headings. Some valuable articles are also contributed on the development and preservation of natural resources. *Canadian forests and forest fires*, by W. L. Goodwin, gives an abstract of the laws regulating forest fires in the different provinces and a criticism of the neglect of these laws, as indicating an irresponsible and lawless attitude. Mr. John A. Cormie contributes an account of the building and possibilities of *The Hudson Bay Railroad*. The importance of this railway is shown by the statement that the distance from Nelson to Liverpool is practically the same as from Nelson to Montreal. If the open season be long enough and the land prove as productive as present indications promise, the dubiousness of the east about the estimated outlay of $26,000,000 will be disproved by a cheaper trade route and the opening of huge tracts of valuable territory.

The *Revue Canadienne* maintains its excellent reputation as a serious and well written monthly. Perhaps the most important contribution from an historical standpoint is the selection of documents from the large collection left to the Société Historique of Montreal by Sir Louis Hippolyte LaFontaine. These are edited with a running comment and elucidations where required by M. Montarville Boucher de La Bruère. They all relate to the insurrection of 1837-8 and include confidential letters to LaFontaine from British politicians such as Ellice and Joseph Hume, as well as his correspondence with Wolfred Nelson and others in Canada. It is to be hoped that M. de La Bruère will find means to publish a much larger selection in book form. M. P.-G. Roy continues the publication of the contemporary record of the

trial of eight soldiers at Montreal in 1757, under the title *Un Conseil de Guerre à Montréal.* M. Roy also contributes articles on *Crimes et peines sous le régime français,* in which he collects from judicial records much significant material. A study by M. J.-Hector Lapointe on *Le Projet d'Union de 1822* is based on consultation of documents in the Archives at Ottawa. Mr. John Boyd has an interesting paper on Thomas Storrow Brown, whose part in the insurrection of 1837-8, Mr. Boyd considers, has not been properly understood. M. J.-C. Chapais gives an account of the establishment of schools of agriculture in Quebec, beginning with the establishment of an industrial school at Saint-Joachim by Laval in 1670. M. Aegidius Fauteux undertakes an historical sketch of *Les Bibliothèques Canadiennes,* in which he includes the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa, but no others outside the bounds of the province of Quebec.

United Empire necessarily reflects the influence of the great war and many articles deal with the Empire at large in relation to it. Among these several affect Canada. Lt.-Col. J. W. Barrett in *Imperial Alternatives—Alliance or Union* discusses issues raised by the war, especially the relations of the Dominions to foreign policy and to efficiency in Empire citizenship. He pleads for the holding of conventions elected on a popular vote in every part of the Empire where self-government exists, in order that a full knowledge of the facts may be obtained and that Imperial Conferences may be rendered valuable. Mr. B. H. Morgan in *The Necessity for a Common Imperial Economic Policy* makes a strong plea for the conservation and development of Empire resources for the people of the Empire. Some vital questions are raised. Mr. W. Lang in *The Empire and Armageddon* brings forward problems of trade, immigration and education. In the last connexion he points out the necessity for the adequate teaching of Empire history as an incentive to patriotism. There are other articles of a similar nature notably Sir H. Wilson's *The Integration of the Empire* and Mr. Evan Lewin's *Canada and the West Indies.*

Mr. Lewin discusses a Canadian-West-Indian political union and draws serious attention to its value from the point of view of the development of trade. There are no articles to note of special historical importance.

In these days of war, analysis of contemporary conditions with a view to future development supersedes historical research, to judge by magazine contributions. In the *University Magazine* there is but one article which gives an account of the past, a sketch of the life of Sir William Van Horne and his part in the development of Canadian resources, by W. Vaughan. The relation of Canada to the Empire is to the fore in the few articles there are on contemporary history. Mr. W. R. Lee criticizes the scheme of federation suggested by Mr. Curtis's book *The Problem of the Commonwealth*. President Falconer shows that the war is developing and cementing a more definite bond between Canada and Great Britain. Turning from the consideration of Imperial relations to Canada's relation with other powers an article on *Trans-Pacific trade with Russia*, by L. D. Wilgress, shows the possibility of a trade route from British Columbia to Vladivostok and claims that a market exists in eastern Siberia since the cessation of trade with Germany. Interesting tables are appended which give comparative distances from points on the Pacific coast and from Great Britain to Vladivostok and also show the vast increase of population in Siberia between 1896 and 1913. *The Testing of Democracy*, by the Rev. J. O. Miller, is a plea to set our own house in order with regard to immigration. A Commission to investigate conditions is advocated, also the development of an immigration policy and in addition to the inevitable Commission is a plea for a higher degree of social responsibility on the part of the individual, that effective measures may be taken.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

Newfoundland and its Political and Commercial Relation to Canada. By H. J. Goodyear. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pp. 48.

The Early Relations Between Newfoundland and the Channel Islands. By H. W. Le Messurier. (Geographical Review, Dec. 1916, pp. 449-458.)

Newfoundland and its Forest Resources. By Sir Daniel Morris. (The Scottish Geographical Magazine, Aug. 1916, pp. 353-366.)

"It must be clear that Newfoundland is not illogical in its spirit of indifference to a political union with Canada. It has never had a chance to act as a political unit in international questions in which its own interests were involved but has always been forced into disadvantageous positions by the stronger powers and of these Canada has not been the least offender. The Devonshire merchants exploited the country and manipulated legislation disastrous to the planters. When kings quarrelled with each other concessions in Newfoundland were granted as an indemnity; when they were friendly slices of territory were granted as a peace offering. The French were allowed to plunder and butcher without molestation and later their pretensions and encroachments were winked at by English governments to the detriment of the native fishermen and the hindrance of the development of the island. Canada was the last who sought to drive a close bargain and who actually intervened to prevent Newfoundland from receiving an obvious advantage."

The first of these papers on Newfoundland contains the above striking statement explaining the origin of the barriers which the author's admirable plea and plan for union with Canada seeks to destroy. The Canadian Commission of 1896 is scathingly criticized for the hard bargain it tried to drive at that time. The advantages of federation are clearly outlined—advantages for the Dominion as well as the island colony. Among the former are access to the natural resources of Newfoundland, especially timber, pulpwood, iron ores and agricultural products. The most valuable results of federation would be seen in the work of the departments or bureaus of mines, agriculture, fisheries, census, etc., and of the Commission of Conservation. The products of the island would be admitted to Canada free of duty at higher prices than at

present. The duties collected on goods imported into the island would be lower than at present, and no duties would be imposed on goods from Canada—about two-thirds of the total now imported. It would be necessary for the Dominion to assume the whole of the debt and to make the railways of the island a part of the Intercolonial system. Mr. Goodyear makes out a strong case for believing that under confederation taxation would be less than it is now. The industrial benefits would be countless and no one should underestimate the value of organized contact with a larger world.

The paper by Mr. Le Messurier presents interesting evidence of an early contact between the Channel Islands and Newfoundland. The names of towns, bays, rivers, and families provide ample grounds for thinking that many assumptions respecting the earliest settlers and fishermen to visit the "Banks" have been erroneous. A more admirable use of obscure information for historical proof could scarcely be wished.

Sir Daniel Morris suggests that Great Britain as well as Canada may turn with more friendliness to the heretofore much wronged colony especially for pit timbers and pulp as well as fish and iron ores.

W. J. DONALD

Professor A. P. Coleman writes in the *University Monthly* (December, 1916, pp. 100-106) an account of *A Second Visit to Labrador*. The attraction of that lonely land is strong to the geologist, who finds there naked structural forms without the concealing drapery of vegetation. The difficulty of reaching the northern part of the coast-line is great and perhaps enhances the satisfaction of those like Professor Coleman who make the goal. His narrative shows very clearly why the trip to northern Labrador is not for the ordinary tourist or holiday-maker. The wonderful scenery of Nachvak fiord is vividly described.

Acadie. Reconstitution d'un Chapitre Perdu de l'Histoire d'Amérique. Par Édouard Richard. Ouvrage publié d'après le MS. original, entièrement refondu, corrigé, annoté, mis au point des recherches les plus récentes, avec une Introduction et des Appendices par Henri d'Arles. Tome Premier: Depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle. Québec, 1916. Pp. xxxii, 418.

This book is a beautiful example of the printer's art. Good paper, bold type, generous margins, careful press work combine with most pleasing and artistic results. The work itself has a very curious origin. In 1895 appeared *Acadia, Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History, by An Écadian*, and, at the head of the title, stood the name, *A*douard Richard. It was the English translation by the Rev. J. Drummond, S.J., of a French original. The author described himself as "Ex-Member of the House of Commons of Canada". He represented Megantic in the Dominion House from 1872 to 1878 and was employed in Paris in 1897 as Archivist for the Canadian government. He died in 1904. After being lost for several years, the original French manuscript was discovered in the possession of a relative at whose house Richard died. It is now edited in a sumptuous manner by Henri d'Arles.

Richard's qualifications for the task of historian were of the slightest. He was not a learned man, he was not energetic, his documentation is defective. He appropriated without acknowledgment long passages from Rameau, Beamish Murdoch, Casgrain and other writers. His use of quotation marks is bizarre. Apparently he often quoted from memory, so different is the tenor of his text from the original. His French is filled with Anglicisms and expressions translated from the English. His history is not a history; it is justly termed a *plaidoyer* twice (pp. xiii and 300 n.) with complete accuracy. He is praised (p. xxv) as "l'avocat de la grande cause acadienne". With such training, equipment, and mental attitude, Richard assails hysterically the accuracy of Parkman and the good faith of Akins.

In the English translation (p. 65) occurs this statement of the fall of Canada. "And when Canada in its turn yielded to the invader, it had only five or six thousand soldiers left to withstand sixty thousand of the enemy". The statement is unmodified in the French version and is improved by M. d'Arles in his footnote. "La petite armée des Français décimée par quatre années de victoires, ne reçevant aucun renfort de la métropole, réduite à cinq ou six mille hommes, fut attaquée par soixante-dix mille soldats". Thus history is written; and a loose and inaccurate writer is set right by a supposedly competent editor! In his introduction, M. d'Arles refers with pride to the labour necessary to produce the mass of notes with which the text is underpinned. Yet he is capable of confusing hopelessly Sir Robert Walpole with his son Horace. "Cet *Horace Walpole* fut l'une des figures les plus complexes et les plus intéressantes du 18e siècle anglais. Il fut un des grands ministres d'Angleterre, qu'il gouverna glorieusement vingt et un ans. Il doit également une part de sa célébrité à son amitié pour Madame du Deffand. La correspondance de ces deux personnages est un monument littéraire" (p. 346 n.).

On the title-page M. d'Arles lays claim to having brought the work into accord with the most recent researches. But nowhere is to be found any reference to the two volumes of Nova Scotia Archives published by the government of Nova Scotia since the book edited by Mr. Akins, covering the first half of the eighteenth century. If M. d'Arles had referred to them he would not have repeated (p. 309) the ancient error, for which an English governor is responsible, that the lands of the Acadians had never been properly surveyed. Documents printed in the works referred to prove conclusively that the lands were carefully surveyed, and that the Acadians tried to hinder the work of the surveyor. They also prove that it was necessary for the officers of the English garrison at Annapolis Royal to form themselves into a sort of court of quarter sessions to deal with the incessant litigation of the Acadians.

Proper names are mis-spelled: Caulfeild (not Caulfield), Sandys (not Sandy's, p. 89), D'Anville (not D'Enville, p. 349). Other typographical errors occur. There is a very marked contrast between the author's portrait (from a photograph) in the edition of 1895 and the idealization by Hébert in the present one.

Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine (1632-1635). By the Rev. John Lenhart, O.M. Cap. (Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, Vol. xxvii, pp. 191-229, pp. 300-327.)

In order to show the extent of the missionary labours of his Order, the author of this very careful research must touch on the early history of Nova Scotia, particularly in the seventeenth century. In addition to the ordinary sources of information, he has had access to the records of the Propaganda. The subject is treated critically and all statements are buttressed with precise references to the works cited. Unlike the Jesuits, the Capuchins had no "Relations", and the documentary basis for connected history of their activities is very slight. None the less, the brief allusions to matters of common knowledge afford proof of undoubted facts, such as the establishment of an Indian school by the Capuchins as early as 1635. It appears also that there was a boarding-school for Abenaki girls at Port Royal (now Annapolis Royal), for the name of the directress, Madame de Brice, is mentioned in the list of those expelled from the place by Le Borgne in 1653.

The history of Nova Scotia abounds in vexed questions and controversial matter. This paper makes several corrections of current opinions. On page 202, Rameau's statement that Recollets came out with Razilly is disputed. They were confused with Capuchins. There seems to have been rivalry between these two Orders. "The evils of the situation were aggravated by the rivalry of the Recollets" (p. 212). Apparently the Capuchins succeeded in converting the Indians where both the Jesuits and the Sulpicians failed. The old question of the relative merits of the two claimants

of Acadie, D'Aunay and La Tour, is brought up once more. M. Lenhart charges heavily against La Tour. He was the head of "a gang of ruffians" (p. 203). The Capuchins who attempted to induce him "to lead a Christian life" were unable to do so and excommunicated him. D'Aunay, on the other hand, "always led the life of an exemplary Catholic". The story of Lady La Tour's defence of Fort St. John, its capture and her fate, differs widely from the accepted version. "D'Aunay captured Fort St. John, April 17, 1645. La Tour was ruined. Romance has clustered about this event. What the American historians relate about the courageous Madame La Tour fighting as bravely as any knight, and about the cruel and relentless D'Aunay, is fiction" (p. 214). But M. Lenhart does not even refer to Denys, the original authority for this romance, much less criticize his account. It would not appear that he is aware of the existence of the *Description*, and the historical data in the opening chapters. Any discussion of this tragic episode which leaves Ganong's discussion (in the preface to the edition of Denys's work published by the Champlain Society) out of the reckoning, must be considered incomplete.

The Acadian Exiles, a Chronicle of the Land of Evangeline. By Arthur G. Doughty. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916. Pp. 178.

As might be expected from Dr. Doughty's previous reputation, this popular account of the French in Nova Scotia is clearly written, well informed and sympathetic. That much new material could be brought to light was hardly possible; for perhaps no portion of Canadian history has been more widely studied than the half century of English rule in Acadie, which began in 1710 and ended really, not with the expulsion of the Acadians, but with the introduction of New England settlers to take their place along the valley of the Annapolis. Still Dr. Doughty is able to impart freshness to his pages by citation of unhackneyed data. In regard to the expulsion, he takes the popular, modern,

humanitarian view. Indeed, few are found bold enough now-a-days to attempt to "justify" this high-handed act of Governor Lawrence. What is still lacking is a rational explanation of it. Almost all historians, misled by Longfellow, fail to note that the expulsion was not a wanton measure of cruelty executed in cold blood at a time of profound peace; but a war measure precipitated by a dangerous crisis. On page 137, Dr. Doughty writes: "Hardly had the deplorable work ended, when England made with Frederick of Prussia the treaty which formally inaugurated her Seven Years War with France. For Lawrence, perhaps, this was a fortunate circumstance. The day of mutual concessions had passed; and an act which a few months before might have been denounced as unwarrantable might now, in the heat of a mighty contest, be regarded as a patriotic service". The fact is that for two years before the "formal" declaration of war between France and England, their colonies in America had been in active conflict. In 1754 Washington was compelled to surrender to Villiers at Great Meadows. In 1755 four separate expeditions were organized in the English colonies and launched against four strong points of French power in America, Fort Duquesne, Niagara, Crown Point and Beauséjour. The expedition against Fort Duquesne met the bloodiest defeat in the annals of colonial wars up to that time. Two other expeditions failed. Only one succeeded. As a whole the campaign collapsed. It was in the face of Braddock's defeat, and the possible ruin of the British cause in America, that Lawrence and his Council, a small British garrison wedged in between the French of Nova Scotia and the French stronghold of Louisbourg, did what they did, as an obvious measure of self-preservation. Murdoch saw the connection between Braddock's defeat and the expulsion. On page 278 of his *History of Nova Scotia*, he writes of the battle of the Monongahela: "I have felt it requisite to give an outline of the affair, as it influenced the minds of the British in all the provinces, and probably the alarm it created tended to confirm the decision just arrived at in Nova Scotia of expelling the French Acadians".

A very valuable feature of this little book is the full bibliographical note appended.

The *History of Nova Scotia*, by David Allison (Halifax, N.S.: A. W. Bowen, 1916. 3 vols.) is a good example of what is known familiarly in the publishing trade as a "mug book". The *modus operandi* is as follows. A so-called publisher selects a given field, one of the United States or a province of Canada, for exploitation. He engages a local historian of some reputation, a judge, a college president, to write a history *talis qualis* of the territory aforesaid, for which he offers a handsome lump sum, cash down. Whether that history is good, bad or indifferent, he cares not a jot. As he will frankly avow, there is no money in history; but there is much money in human vanity and self-importance. Accordingly, he induces a large number of the illustrious obscure to contribute autobiographies with portraits at so much per head, and these valuable contributions to local history appear with the "mugs" in a supplementary volume. The "set" adorns the best room of the *bourgeoisie* and the parlour of the farm, unread, ugly, useless; but the "publisher" pockets his twenty or twenty-five dollars per copy. Such merit as the historical part of this work may possess is nullified completely by the confusion of arrangement and the absence of proof-reading. No statement in it should be accepted without verification from some trustworthy source. It is among histories what Dr. Johnson's leg of mutton was among viands: "as bad as bad can be; it is ill-fed, ill-killed, ill-kept and ill-dressed". That Canada should be exploited by vulgar money-grubs in this way is deplorable.

A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia. Written in 1877 by the Rev. George Patterson, D.D. Reprint Edition. Pictou: The Pictou Advocate, 1916. Pp. 296.

The field of local history has been diligently cultivated in Nova Scotia. Every county has its special chronicler,

who has amassed, from various sources of information, an account of his own district. The value of such original material must increase as time goes on. Of all these county histories, none surpasses in interest Patterson's account of Pictou. Settled by both Highlanders and Lowlanders, this part of Nova Scotia long presented a faithful mirror of old Scotland and possesses even now a strongly marked individuality. Dr. Patterson was well qualified for the task of historian. Born in 1824, he grew up in touch with the traditions of the earliest settlers, and was able to obtain information from sources now closed. His own family had no small part in the development of the country: the history has even been criticized as devoting too much attention to the Patterson clan. He had moreover the benefit of a college education under McCulloch, the first president of Dalhousie College. The present reprint, from the types originally used in *The Pictou Advocate*, agrees exactly with the original edition published in Montreal in 1877, but is not so handsome a volume in appearance.

Patterson began at the beginning, with the geographical limits, the geological structure and the traces of Indian and French occupation. The story of the settlement really commences in the fourth chapter with the arrival of the brig *Hope* from Philadelphia in 1767, followed by the more famous *Hector* from Scotland in 1773. As usual, the pioneers suffered many privations and hardships, and the tale of these early years is anything but tame or monotonous. During the American Revolutionary War, local sentiment was divided on the merits of the American cause; the settlers from the colonies sided with the "rebels", while the Scots remained loyal. The chief immigration from Scotland took place in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Much attention is devoted to the religious history of the county. The coming of Macgregor, the first missionary, dates an epoch; the activities of the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, the founder of Pictou Academy and first president of Dalhousie College, are given an entire chapter. The Scots brought with them their religious differences of Seceder, Kirk and

Antiburgher, and continued, in Nova Scotia, the quarrels of the old world. These differences affected even local politics. The student of the picturesque can glean much from these pages. The "lumbering", the drinking habits, the sea-faring, the superstitions of the early Pictovians, offer a rich opportunity to the man of letters, while the scientific student of political economy in Canada will find here valuable data not accessible elsewhere.

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia. By Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton. No. VI. Migrations from New England in 1749 and 1760. (*Americana*, April 1916, pp. 145-180.) No. VII. The First Churches of Halifax. (Ib. July 1916, pp. 243-280.)

The sixth chapter of this history consists chiefly of biographical notices of settlers from New England who played their part in establishing Halifax. This immigration was really the first permanent element in the city; for the disbanded soldiers and sailors, "the King's hard bargains" who came out with Cornwallis, soon drifted away and left few traces behind. Halifax is to be regarded in the first two decades of its history as simply another American colonial city with a British garrison. Dr. Eaton is a painstaking historian and has patiently accumulated a large mass of facts which he has treated in the approved critical method. The second New England migration of 1760 was due to the settled policy of Governor Lawrence. Not only did he plan the expulsion of the Acadians, but he planned to have their places taken by the sturdy farmers of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Strange to say, the passing of such a large body of settlers from these colonies is hardly noted in the local authorities.

The seventh chapter gives an account of the first Anglican clergymen in Halifax and the foundation of St. Paul's parish church, which, altered and enlarged, is still standing, the oldest Protestant place of worship in Canada. With its mural tablets, hatchments and other monuments, St. Paul's

presents an epitome of the city's history. There is also some information about the Sandemanians, and "Mather's" church, which was organized by New Englanders on a congregational basis. These chapters are illustrated by portraits of Jonathan Belcher, Mrs. Belcher, the Rev. Mather Byles and the Rev. Henry Caner.

In order to judge of their suitability for a meeting of the Acadian Congress, Senator Pascal Poirier paid a visit to the Magdalen Islands, and has embodied his observations in a brief but vivacious plaquette entitled *Voyage aux Iles-Madeleine* (1915; pp. 29). He passed by the island inhabited by the Scotch and Irish—the steamer does not call there—and hastened on to those of the Acadians. He found them a terrestrial paradise. There were no Jews, no Protestants, no schismatics, no lawyers, no judges, no taverns. The people are well grown, healthy, patriotic, industrious, exemplary Catholics, well cared for by devoted priests and plentifully provided with schools. Even the children are noted for their politeness. This sketch contains some interesting data of these little known islands and is larded with Acadian words. Senator Poirier makes merry over Bishop Mountain's visit in 1850, and, of course, denounces the English treatment of the French.

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(2) The Province of Quebec

Histoire de la Seigneurie de Saint-Ours. Ire. Partie. Les Origines de la famille et de la Seigneurie, 1330-1785. Par L'Abbé A. Couillard-Desprès. Montreal: Imprimerie de l'Institution des Sourds-Muets, 1915. Pp. 345.

In no other part of Canada is such attention being given to local history as in the province of Quebec. Year after year an amazing amount of patient labour is being consecrated to the useful work of putting into narrative the records of the various seigniories and parishes. Clerical scholars have had a large part in these undertakings, and it is natural that this should be the case since the church records must be called upon to supply most of the data upon which these local histories are based. Scrupulous accuracy and careful attention to details characterize most of the monographs and give them an enduring value although they are rarely written in a style that offers much attraction to the general reader.

The present study is of interest and importance from two points of view. It is, in the first place, a chronicle of life in one of the best known but least progressive seigniories of the old régime, omitting nothing of local consequence, treating the place as a little world in itself, and thus giving us all that we need ever desire to know about this portion of the land and its people. But on the other hand it presents what is virtually an epitome of provincial history, since St. Ours was not unlike the other seigniories and its history was typical of all the rest. Some seigniories were larger, some more populous, many were more progressive, but in all of them the outlines of history are much the same. Never was a land more homogeneous in its population, in its methods of action or in its habits of thought than Quebec of the days before the Conquest. A writer who faithfully portrays daily life on the Richelieu is accordingly describing to all intents and purposes the routine of the entire colony.

The seigniory of St. Ours was one of the military fiefs, granted in 1672 to Captain Pierre de St. Ours of the Carignan-Salières regiment. It lay between the seigniories of Contrecoeur and Sorel, both of which were also the patrimony of retired officers. Pierre de St. Ours may have been a good soldier but he was not a signal success as a seigneur; in 1686 he applied to the king for a pension, not being able to support his large family from the proceeds of his estate. The king responded generously as he did on many other occasions. Catalogne, in 1712, spoke of the seigniory as being poorly developed. Later on, however, it made more headway although its soil was not of the best. The first seigneur of St. Ours had some fine descendants, and they gave splendid service to the colony in its days of trouble with the English. The story of the seigniory is interesting in its way and the author recounts it fairly well, although the tendency to overload his pages with detail, and particularly with genealogical detail, has nowhere been successfully resisted. On the other hand there are frequent references to St. Ours in the general sources of data relating to the civil history of the period, particularly in the *Correspondance Générale*, and these do not seem to have attracted the writer's attention at all. An excellent book on the whole, it would have been even better had the quest for data been pursued over a wider range. There are a few inaccuracies, but not of much importance except the statement (p. 39) that "about eighteen hundred men arrived in the colony in the summer of 1665", forming twenty-four companies of the Carignan regiment. Half that number would be nearer the mark.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

Histoire de la Paroisse de Champlain. Par le Chanoine Prosper Cloutier. Trois Rivières, 1915. Pp. vi, 521.

M. le Chanoine P. Cloutier, Curé of Champlain, and several able assistants have produced a valuable piece of work in this volume to be followed by others. Two such capable and learned scholars as M. Massicotte and Dr. Sulte have helped,

and their influence in documentary references and research is self-evident. The latter has provided an interesting preface dealing with the origin and development of parochial life in Canada, and he has added an index which is a model of detail. The hand of M. Massicotte can easily be seen in the many family histories, and those who know his previous work in this connection will not be surprised at the excellence of his contributions in this book.

Before considering the valuable side of the book, it will be well to point out that it has many of the faults which seem to belong to parish histories by a sort of divine right. It is only in certain places that it rises above the methods of a mediaeval chronicle. It is disfigured by illustrations of scenes and persons of no historical importance. A pious *naïveté* runs throughout. The interested student may well skip pages 226-330, which are on the whole valueless records of good men and women. Had Dr. Sulte taken the work in hand, he could have enhanced the value of the book by writing it under subjects, such as social life; early conditions; types of colonists; Indian and English wars; religious development; local customs; census returns; land sales; early roads; the parish churches; fashions in clothes, and the like. The elaborate and meticulous details might well have been grouped in appendices.

When, however, we have climbed through the thorny hedge of method, we arrive at a rich pasture. Indeed, it is not too much to say that no future student of Canadian origins can afford to overlook the book. The first part has carried us along with the greatest interest (pp. 1-226). There is abundant illustration for the points of view to which we have already referred. We can trace the growth of the parish year by year from authentic documents. Interesting material is added to that already available for the lives of such men as Hertel, Etienne Pezard and Marsolet "le plus ancien des colons du Canada"—to mention only the best known. The letters of Mère Marie de l'Incarnation supply valuable contemporary light on the earthquake of 1663, and on the social and economic conditions prevailing

in the parish in 1665. We are able to develop these as the book continues from contemporary lists of household and farm possessions, from wills and from returns of tradesmen's goods (see pp. 60, 123, 428). These originals will be invaluable to the student of social history during the seventeenth century. In addition, the authors provide us with several originals dealing with the contents of ladies' and gentlemen's wardrobes during the same period (pp. 129-200). It is perhaps little wonder that an episcopal reproof was issued in 1685 against "le luxe . . . les nudités de gorge et d'épaules . . . les cheveux frisés". Nor can the student afford to overlook the details connected with land settlement, provided from census returns and legal documents. The early history of roads has much light thrown on it, and there are many references to the tendency (still existing in Quebec) to petty legal disputes, which are valuable for early social history. Valuable information also is scattered throughout the book on legends and superstitions. The colours are ready mixed, for a chapter at least, on many aspects of Canadian social life in the seventeenth century.

From the point of view of Church history in the widest sense, there is some excellent work. The authors have printed a valuable list of Injunctions given to the parish in 1685 by Archdeacon Louis Ango, acting as parochial visitor for Mgr. de Laval (p. 173). This is an exceedingly valuable document, as it challenges comparison with similar documents preserved among the English and French diocesan manuscripts of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and it helps us to compare the duties of seventeenth century churchwardens in Canada with those of their predecessors in earlier Church history. There is also a list of church furniture for 1713 (p. 183). It is interesting to note that the church furnishings for that year are almost identical with those ordered by English Legatine Constitutions in the Middle Ages. In addition, there is interesting light thrown on the history of "pew-rents" which helps to increase our knowledge of a little known subject in European Church history. We have noticed another point which is of value

to the student of ecclesiastical architecture. The "rood-loft" in the first church of the parish seems to have been reached by a stair-case in one of the pillars of the chancel arch, as in some English churches which survive from the Middle Ages. The "rood-loft" itself contained some twenty benches or seats, doubtless for singers, as in mediaeval England and in many European churches at the present day. The authors, too, have given us a whole history of "holy-bread" down to its abolition in Canada in 1874, which, in the order of parochial precedence and consequent disputes, touches hands in the past with Chaucer's *Prologue* and the writings of Sir Thomas More, and in the present with Brittany and Normandy.

Further description is unnecessary, and the student must read the book to find out its value. We have, however, been unable to understand a sentence in M. Cloutier's "foreword" to his parishioners, when he says that the holy dead of Champlain can notice with happiness that "l'effort britannique n'a pu réussir dans son œuvre d'anglicisation". We have looked in vain through the volume for any evidence of this "effort britannique"—perhaps it will appear later. As the sentence stands at present, it is like placing Lucifer as door-keeper to the Temple of Truth.

Saint-Honoré de Shenley (Beauce)—autrefois et aujourd'hui, by M. L'Abbé G. M. Lemieux (Québec: Typ. L'Action Sociale, 1915; pp. 60) is a typical history of a Quebec parish. It is merely a pious record of priests, nuns, church buildings and such like. The interest is severely local. Such as it is, it is rendered all the more valueless by the fact that the parish was only settled in 1854 and by Canadians. There is nothing to arouse any wide interest in the settlers, their outlook or difficulties. The book is simply a dull chronicle, and, while it is full of the usual local pride in pious works, is of no historical value. We often wonder why those who undertake to write parish histories are usually without the smallest historical training and have no idea of how to write a book. If the thing is worth doing—and

in this case it was not—it is worth doing well, and good material is often spoiled for another and a competent writer.

Notes historiques sur la paroisse de Saint-Léon le Grand, by Mlle. Amanda Plourde (Trois Rivières, 1916; pp. 88) is of purely ecclesiastical interest. The succession of curés since the foundation of the parish in 1796 is given, the church buildings, the festivals, the sacristans are enumerated. Under the heading "Nécrologie" we learn a little of the history of the inhabitants of the parish. Successive landslides have been produced by spring freshets in the river Chacoura which flows through the parish. Loss of life has accompanied some of them, and in this connection we hear about them.

In 1884 *La Patrie* of Montreal started a special column under the heading: Le Bon Vieux Temps. The column owed its origin to the happy idea of the proprietor, M. H. Beaugrand, who was himself much interested in the history of old Montreal. He detailed one of his staff to gather remarkable stories from the files of the earliest newspapers, to look up reports of curious court trials, and to interview the oldest residents of the city on their recollections of its history. The sketches attracted wide attention at the time, due partly to the picturesque topics they dealt with, but principally, it would seem, to the fact that they were understood to be the work of a writer known to his contemporary journalists as a humorist of striking talent—M. Hector Berthelot. They would still remain buried in the pages of *La Patrie* had it not been for the forethought of the archivist of the Court House in Montreal—M. E.-Z. Massicotte—the recognized authority on the history of the city. He collected all the articles as they appeared, and now publishes selections from them under his own careful editing.* They fall into two series: the first for 1884; the second for 1885.

* *Montréal: Le Bon Vieux Temps.* Par Hector Berthelot. Compilé, revu et annoté par E.-Z. Massicotte. Première et Deuxième Séries. Montréal: Libraire Beauchemin, 1916. Pp. 130; 116.

Taken as a whole they form a most pleasing survey of Montreal in the first three or four decades of the last century. Many of the sketches are topographical; some deal with the old city government, the police and the postal service; others recall events and buildings, such as the burning of the Hotel Donegana, which make it easy to picture *Le Bon Vieux Temps* as it actually was. The sketches are all short—seldom over two or three pages; and the local colour they introduce into the Montreal of their period has a value which those interested in the history of the city will appreciate readily.

Dr. B. Sulte writes of *La Saint-Jean-Baptiste, 1636-1836* (*Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. iii., vol. ix., pp. 1-25). The origin of the festival is traced in careful detail and the author shows its connexion with New France from the very beginning. Incidentally he throws some light on the abuses which gathered around parochial festivals. More interesting still is the connexion of "La Saint-Jean-Baptiste" with the movement which led to the futile rebellion and to the Act of Union. "La Saint-Jean-Baptiste" became an inspiration in June 1834 for a patriotic banquet in Montreal, when Vigar, La Fontaine, O'Callaghan and others spoke and St. John the Baptist was chosen as patron of the movement, "qui il y a dix-huit siècles est venu préparer la voie de la réforme morale". The healths drunk on the occasion included those of Papineau and W. Lyon Mackenzie; while Georges-Étienne Cartier sang his own composition *O Canada! mon pays, mes amours.* The author points out the skill with which the patriotic party linked the popular festival with their political hopes. A few years later we find the Society the guests of Sir Charles Bagot. Dr. Sulte quotes at length a speech of Cartier's in 1855, at the removal of Duvernay's remains, which might be read to-day with some profit.

Father Hugolin, o.f.m., has done solid and valuable work on the history of the Récollets in Canada. We took

up, then, his latest pamphlet with the hope of finding in it some new light and some interesting discoveries in his special field of work. Alas! *De Québec à Percé: Sur les pas des Récollets* (Montreal: Godin-Menard, 1916; pp. 36) turned out to be the record of a trip down the St. Lawrence with Father Oderic, o.f.m., the learned historian of the Franciscans in Canada. References there are undoubtedly to the Récollets, but they are of a "guide-book" nature. Even to the end we hoped for more than quotations from Le Clercq, Taché and other secondary sources. We learn, however, something of episcopal ideas on missions in 1683 from a letter of Mgr. Laval. A date in Taché is corrected on page 22, and an unimportant letter of Briand's dated September 1, 1784, is quoted from the archives at Rimouski. The most interesting thing is an account "de l'estat de la Seigneurie de l'Isle percée et dépendances" in 1680, from "Documents Clairambault". The document, however, is not quoted in full. On the whole the little book is merely that of an enthusiastic historian *en vacances*, who cannot quite forget his work as he idles among scenes of the Récollets' activities. It has a charm in its *esprit* and in its cultivated prose. Father Hugolin can lay claim to a public that expects solid work from his pen, and we selfishly hope that his holidays will not tend to disappoint us! We are sorry to learn that there are no valuable documents at Percé connected with the Récollets.

During the last couple of years M. Pierre-Georges Roy has added to his long list of similar publications a half-dozen or more pamphlets each containing the history of some prominent French-Canadian family. Among these studies the one relating to *La Famille De Chavigny de la Chevrotière* (Lévis, 1916; pp. 165), is the most elaborate. There is considerable descriptive matter relating to the work of the first colonial generation but the greater part of the publication is filled with genealogical data covering the various branches of this prolific family in later days. The appendix contains various documents such as seigniorial title-deeds, marriage

contracts, extracts from the fealty rolls, and others illustrating the family activities. *La Famille Bécard de Grandville* (Lévis, 1914; pp. 16), is chiefly an account of Pierre Bécard (or Béquart) who came to New France in 1665 as an ensign of the Carignan-Salières regiment, settled in the colony, married a daughter of a Quebec merchant and sent six stalwart sons into the royal service. M. Roy has managed to draw from the *Correspondance Générale* much new and interesting information concerning the work of this second Grandville generation. *La Famille Des Bergères de Rigauville* (Lévis, 1912; pp. 26), describes the work of Raymond-Blaise des Bergères, a young officer who came to the colony with Governor Denonville and rose to a position of high military responsibility in the last decade of the seventeenth century. This founder of the family was thrice married and left many descendants of whom several achieved prominence in later years. *La Famille Faribault* (Lévis, 1913; pp. 47), contains the record of a late-comer to New France, Barthélemi Faribault, who arrived in 1752 as secretary to the Marquis de Duquesne. After the fall of the colony he became a notary at Berthier-en-Haut. The family genealogy in its various branches occupies the larger portion of the pamphlet. The three other studies, much briefer, are those of *La Famille Viennay-Pachot* (Lévis, 1915; pp. 9); *La Famille Foucault* (Lévis, 1915; pp. 13); and *La Famille Glackemeyer* (Lévis, 1916; pp. 15).

The Commission de Géographie de Québec has issued its First Report (Quebec, 1916; pp. 84) consisting of a *Nomenclature des noms géographiques de la province de Québec*. Unfortunately the work of this Commission overlaps and clashes with the similar work of the Geographic Board of Canada which has been in existence since the beginning of the century and has already issued fourteen annual reports with decisions upon the correct form of geographical names over the whole of Canada. It is possible that the work was proceeding too slowly, and some division of labour might have been made between the federal Board and the provincial Commission.

No other province, however, except Quebec appears to have felt the necessity of appointing a commission to deal with the unsettled names within its own borders. The Quebec Commission has not confined its labours to dealing with geographic names not already considered by the Geographic Board. For instance, the Geographic Board had already decided upon the name Bersimis for the well known point, river and village in Saguenay County, and the caution "not Betsiamits" is added. The Quebec Commission, however, ignore this decision and pronounce Betsiamis to be the correct name of the place. A similar conflict of authority occurs over the name of the bay on the Gaspé coast where Jacques Cartier experienced warm weather on his first voyage and which he designated accordingly. The Geographic Board call it Chaleur Bay or, if the French form is to be used, Baie de Chaleur, again adding a caution "not Bay of Chaleur nor Baie des Chaleurs". In this they follow Jacques Cartier, but the Quebec Commission prefers Baie des Chaleurs because "cartographers" subsequent to Cartier have adopted this form. Yet the second rule of the Commission is as follows: "Restituer sur les cartes . . . les noms historiques donnés par les premiers découvreurs ou explorateurs". There could hardly be a more obvious case for applying the rule.

(3) The Province of Ontario

Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records. Vol. xiv. Toronto, 1916. Pp. 178.

The greater part of the fourteenth volume of *Papers and Records* published by the Ontario Historical Society is devoted to the Hon. W. R. Riddell's detailed study of the career of Robert (Fleming) Gourlay. This is perhaps the most important of the series of studies on topics having a legal or semi-legal interest for which students of the early history of Upper Canada are indebted to Mr. Justice Riddell. In the present monograph the author follows very closely the single thread of the life-story of his subject, turning aside but rarely and briefly to depict contemporary conditions and influences or to express his own judgments on the facts recorded. The sources of information are, for the most part, Gourlay's own multitudinous publications, access to many of which is now more or less difficult. The notes of reference and explanation, instead of being placed at the bottom of the pages to which they respectively belong, have been gathered into two instalments inserted in the middle and at the end of the paper. So far as the reviewer has tested the references, they have been found entirely trustworthy; though there is evidence of careless proof-reading in the quotations scattered through the text. Many small verbal inaccuracies have been observed, few of which, however, affect the meaning. The author's own opinions are well balanced and to the point. The most noteworthy is probably his vindication of the judicial conduct of Chief Justice William Dummer Powell, who sentenced Gourlay to banishment. The reputation of Powell has fared badly at the hands both of contemporaries and of the historical writers of later generations. When the author expresses the hope that "some day the part taken by William Dummer Powell in the development of this province (in the courts and elsewhere) will be worthily commemorated and fully acknowledged", it is allowable to hope that Mr. Justice

Riddell himself may see his way to undertake such a historical study as will supply the basis for an intelligent appreciation of Powell's work, even as the present monograph makes it possible for the first time to follow the career and estimate the character and significance of the man who has been sometimes designated the first martyr in the cause of Canadian liberty. An index of proper names has been added to the text.

The second paper of the volume, by George Sherwood Hodgins, is entitled "The Heraldry of Canada" and contains useful information on a subject regarding which the knowledge of the reading public is for the most part hazy. The article is popular in character, and the historical matter introduced is in some cases apocryphal, or not strictly relevant. The proof-reader, doubtless, is responsible for the erroneous translation from the Latin on page 140. It is, perhaps, a little startling to find as a concluding quotation—alluding, it would appear, to Canada's participation in the present war—an extract from Milton's description of the Satanic hosts.

In the third paper J. Davis Barnett contributes, under the title "An Election without Politics—1857—I. Buchanan", an account of the Hamilton election which followed the retirement of Sir Allan MacNab, and resulted in the success of Isaac Buchanan, a prominent man of business who is alleged to have been the earliest advocate of the Canadian protective tariff. It is based mainly on contemporary newspapers. Following this, Mr. J. B. Tyrrell contributes a list, prepared from the original records of the Hudson's Bay Company, of "Arrivals and Departures of Ships, Moose Factory, Hudson Bay, Province of Ontario", during the years from 1751 to 1880. The final paper, by Miss A. Blanche Burt, tells the story of Captain Robert Heriott Barclay, the gallant but unfortunate officer who commanded the British fleet in the battle of Lake Erie, 1813. A letter from Nelson is published, as also some information drawn from a family register kept by Captain Barclay's father, and other sources not generally available.

The Rev. A. E. Jones, in his *Old Huronia*, issued as the fifth Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives, published in 1909, undertook to identify, so far as possible, the sites of the different Huron villages of the former existence of which we have knowledge. The identification which called forth most criticism was that of the village of St. Ignace II, scene of the torture of Brébeuf and Lalemant, with the eminence now known as Martyrs' Hill, the east half of Lot 4, Concession VII, of Tay Township, County of Simcoe. Father Jones has now issued a small pamphlet, *Martyrs' Hill the True Site of St. Ignace II* (Montreal, 1915; pp. 18), giving a recapitulation of the evidence as presented in the earlier work, and an elaboration of certain points. The pamphlet will be found a useful summary of the facts bearing on the subject, whether the reader agree or not with the author's conclusions.

The Kent Historical Society has published the second volume of its *Papers and Addresses* (Chatham; pp. 46). Following a brief general sketch of local history, entitled "Our Storied Past", by Katherine B. Coutts, are papers treating of "The Presbyterian Church in Chatham", by P. D. McKellar, "Municipal Government in the County of Kent", by John A. Walker, "The Press of Chatham", by Sheriff J. R. Gemmill, and "The Twenty-Fourth Regiment of Canadian Militia", by Major James C. Weir.

The Lennox and Addington Historical Society continues to offer to students of Canadian history valuable contributions in pleasing form. The seventh and eighth volumes of its *Papers and Records* are issued as one (Napanee; pp. 90) and contain a reprint of a rare pamphlet of 1837, giving the text of the Constitutional Debate in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada in 1836. This was one of the important events in the parliamentary history of the struggle for responsible government. Sir Francis Bond Head, the Lieutenant-Governor, had in that year come into conflict with his Executive Council over the question of responsi-

bility. The Council resigned, and the correspondence between it and the Lieutenant-Governor was examined by a committee of the Assembly, whose report was strongly adverse to Head's contentions. The debate now reprinted arose formally on the motion that this report be adopted by the House. It had been planned that the reprint should be accompanied by notes prepared by the late Dr. C. C. James, but his untimely death deprived the Society of this assistance. Mr. Justice Riddell has written the introduction, which gives the historical setting in clear and brief form. Some quite obvious printer's errors are to be found in the introduction, but the proof-reading of the text itself seems to have been done with much care.

Part Seven of the *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex Historical Society (pp. 64) is given up to reminiscences of the early days of London and its neighbourhood. The opening paper, entitled "The Fathers of London Township", was prepared by Freeman Talbot, a prominent citizen of London in the middle of the last century, who died in 1903 at the age of ninety-two. Following this is a sketch of "Bench and Bar in the Early Days", by His Honour the late D. J. Hughes, Judge of the County Court of Elgin. Sheriff D. M. Cameron presents "Gleanings from the Sheriff's Records", made up of items of information drawn from papers in the office of the Sheriff of Middlesex, dating, for the most part, from the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Dr. C. T. Cameron writes on "Pioneer Politicians", treating of elections in London from 1836 to 1857. At the end of the volume is a brief account (with a photograph) of a memorial erected near the spot on the Thames river where the pleasure boat *Victoria* sank on May 24, 1881, taking a heavy toll of life. The volume also contains several portraits of leading pioneers to whom reference is made in the text.

No. 28 of the Publications of the Niagara Historical Society (pp. 60) bears the sub-title *Family History and*

Reminiscences of Early Settlers. It consists of a miscellaneous collection of papers treating of the early history of the Niagara district. The following may be specially noticed: "Correspondence between Hon. William Dickson, Prisoner of War, and Gen. Dearborn, 1813"; "Secord Papers"—accounts, letters, agreements, etc., in which the names of members of the Secord family are to be found, from 1790 to 1828; "Reminiscences of Francis Goring", who came to Fort Niagara in 1776 and remained in that neighbourhood until his death in 1842; "Recollections of the War of 1812", by the Hon. James Crooks, who was in command of a detachment of militia at Queenston Heights; "Adam Vrooman", a sergeant of Butler's Rangers, of whom and of whose family some account is given. There is a description of the "Niagara Camp" of 1915, written by Florence Wright. The volume is illustrated by portraits of William Dickson, James Crooks, Adam Vrooman, Mrs. Adam Vrooman, and of eight veterans of Queenston Heights—this from a photograph taken in 1869.

The sixth *Annual Report* of the Thunder Bay Historical Society contains the papers read at the meetings of the Society in 1915. Mr. Peter McKellar contributes two papers, one of which, entitled "The Original Kaministiquia Club", includes the minutes of the club of that name which was organized at Fort William, January 20, 1879. The other, "Fort William's Early Newspapers", gives a number of documents illustrating the efforts made by citizens of that town to establish a newspaper there in 1880. Mr. A. L. Russell, under the heading "Fort William in the Middle of the xixth Century", gives a few extracts from two journals, one kept by a Mr. John McKenzie of the Hudson's Bay post at Fort William, 1845-1847, the other by Visiting Indian Superintendent Thos. Gummersel Anderson in 1849. The publication in their entirety of these diaries would be a work of considerable historical value. To Mr. Russell also is due a collection of notes presenting "A Brief History of Port Arthur Harbour". In accordance with custom, the Report is illustrated with photographs of the contributors;

there is also a "Front View of Fort Kaministiquia, North West Company, June 15, 1805".

The Waterloo Historical Society has published its third and fourth *Annual Reports* (Kitchener; pp. 34, 40). In addition to data concerning the part taken by the county of Waterloo in the great war, and obituary notices of members of the society, these volumes contain several papers on historical subjects. In the earlier of the two are published "Recollections of Early Waterloo", by the Rev. A. B. Sherk, born in 1832, grand nephew of Joseph Sherk, or Schoerg, one of the two pioneer settlers who in 1800 came from Pennsylvania to what is now Waterloo Township; "Recollections of My Schooldays at Tassie's", by James E. Kerr, an account of school life at the Galt Grammar School, of which Dr. William Tassie, an eminent graduate of the University of Toronto, was principal, in the third quarter of the last century; and "Experiences of a Queen's Own Rifleman at Ridgeway", by Capt. Fred. H. McCallum. The later volume contains "Early History of Haysville and Vicinity", by Allan R. G. Smith; "The Indian Occupation of Southern Ontario", by James H. Coyne, a paper dealing chiefly with the history of the Neutral Nation; James E. Kerr's "Sketch of the Life of the Hon. William Dickson", who, though his name is more commonly associated with the settlement at Niagara, was the founder, and for several years a resident, of the town of Galt; and Michael G. Sherk's "Memoir of Rev. A. B. Sherk", who in the last year of his life had prepared the paper printed in the preceding report.

The *Annual Report* of the York Pioneer and Historical Society for 1916 (pp. 39) follows the form of preceding issues. Very brief synopses are given of the addresses delivered before the society during the year. Following these are lists of present members, and of those who have died since the last report, accompanying which are many good reproductions of photographs.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell has published an address delivered before the Canadian Bar Association in June, 1916, on *The First Law Reporter in Upper Canada and his Reports* (pp. 23). Thomas Taylor, the reporter in question, was born in England and was originally in the British Army, but when peace with Napoleon seemed assured at the beginning of the 19th century he changed his profession and studied law. He also found time to keep some terms at Oxford as an undergraduate. But the toga again gave place to arms and in 1809 Taylor obtained a commission in the 41st Regiment, and joined it in Canada. Henceforth his career lay in Canada. After the war of 1812 was over he returned to the legal profession. He was appointed official Reporter for the Court of King's Bench in 1823, being at the same time a District Judge at Hamilton. He died in 1838. Mr. Justice Riddell devotes his usual care to this account of Taylor's career. The Reports which he issued were complete in seventeen numbers, separately issued from 1823 to 1827. A bound volume, purporting to be issued in 1828, contains them all and a second edition was issued in 1862.

(4) The Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta

Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Vérendrye. Par L. A. Prud'homme. (Bulletin de la Société Historique de Saint-Boniface, vol. 5, pt. 2. Pp. 178, iv.)

Out of the grave, the discovery of Fort St. Charles in 1908. By T. J. Campbell. (Ibid. vol. 5, pt. 3. Pp. 22.)

Judge Prud'homme has contributed to the *Bulletin* of the Historical Society of St. Boniface a memoir on the life and explorations of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Vérendrye. It will be remembered that Judge Prud'homme prepared several years ago for the French section of the Royal Society of Canada an interesting paper on La Vérendrye, published in the Transactions for 1905. The present memoir is an elaboration, in English, of that paper. The author has made judicious use of the documentary material in the Dominion Archives and elsewhere relating to the achievements of the great explorer of the North-west. He also gives an account of such recent occurrences as the discovery of the site of Fort St. Charles, on North West Angle Inlet, Lake of the Woods, and the curiously accidental recovery at Pierre, South Dakota, of the plate buried by the Chevalier de La Vérendrye in 1743.

In the same Bulletin, the Rev. T. J. Campbell, S.J., describes the discovery in 1908 of the site of La Vérendrye's Fort St. Charles, and of the remains of the eldest son of the explorer and of Père Aulneau, who had been murdered by the Sioux on an island in the Lake of the Woods in 1736. This important addition to our knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the search for the Western Sea is entirely due to the enterprise and enthusiasm of the late Archbishop Langevin, Judge Prud'homme, and the priests of St. Boniface College, who made several expeditions to the Lake of the Woods before their efforts were finally crowned with success. There is nothing particularly new in Father Campbell's article, as all the essential facts had

already been stated by the Rev. Father Paquin, a member of the expedition, in a paper contributed to *Historical Records and Studies*, New York, April, 1909. It may also be noted that in the same year the Rev. Francis J. Schaefer of St. Paul, Minn., published an article on the same subject in *Acta et Dicta*, St. Paul, under the title "Fort St. Charles, the Massacre in the Lake of the Woods, and the Discoveries connected therewith".

The discovery of La Vérendrye's plate on the banks of the Missouri at Pierre, South Dakota, apart from its importance as fixing a definite point in the important expedition of 1742-3, has had the gratifying effect of stimulating interest among western American historical students in the details of that expedition. The *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. VII, 1914, contains elaborate articles by Doane Robinson, of the State Department of History, and Charles E. DeLand, President of the Historical Society, on La Vérendrye and his explorations, with translations of the Journals of 1738-9 and 1742-3, and other documentary material, the whole covering over 200 pages. In spite of some obvious errors, these articles are a very useful addition to the available material on the exploration of La Vérendrye and his sons.

The September and December numbers of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contain articles on the same subject. In the first Professor Orin G. Libby, of the University of North Dakota, attempts to solve *Some Vérendrye enigmas* (pp. 143-160), and makes out an ingenious if not altogether convincing case for the theory that although the plate was discovered at Pierre, and the 1742-3 journal says distinctly that it was buried on the banks of the Missouri, it was actually deposited somewhere on the upper Platte. Professor Libby has a weakness for this kind of iconoclasm. In a paper read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association several years ago he argued that the tribe which La Vérendrye found near the Missouri in 1738, and which

he called Mantannes, was not Mandan but Hidatsa. He returns to the same argument in the present paper. In the December number under the heading *Additional Vérendrye Material* (pp. 368-399) Mr. Doane Robinson and Mr. Charles E. DeLand gallantly defend the South Dakota site from the attack of Professor Libby, and the latter publishes a rejoinder in support of his theory that the plate could not possibly have been deposited on the spot where it was discovered.

Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada. By Chester Martin. (Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, Volume 7.) Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1916. Pp. 240.

Much has been written on the Canadian west but for the most part the books are still personal reminiscences or historical compilations with no very adequate basis of scientific research. We welcome Mr. Martin's book on Lord Selkirk because it is an example of the type of serious and scientific history which is now demanded. The author is Professor of History in the new University of Manitoba and the thoroughness of his work promises well for the scientific study of history in the Canadian west. He has gone far afield for material and much of it is still in manuscript. He has consulted seventy-nine volumes of Selkirk's papers in the Canadian Archives, others of Selkirk's papers at the home of the family in St. Mary's Isle, official papers of the Hudson's Bay Company, of the Colonial Office, of the Canadian Government, and of the Council of Assiniboia, and numerous other collections. He has searched newspapers of the times, has read the narratives of fur traders, has consulted numerous maps and sets forth a list of all this material in a convenient and effective form. Research could hardly be more thorough. Mr. Martin has not been overwhelmed by his material. His narrative is clear and concise. It might, indeed, be criticized as too severe in style, for, while there is profound interest in the story, it is not told in a manner vivacious enough to attract the unprofessional reader. Mr. Martin adheres to the good old fashion of elaborate footnotes, and for this we are grateful, but the

fashion of to-day is to refer the reader to a bibliography and not to encumber the pages with notes. For Mr. Martin's particular purpose his method is probably the wiser. Every phase of Lord Selkirk's career was clouded by bitter controversy and it is well that the historian should quote *ipsissima verba* in support of his statements.

The Earl of Selkirk, a benevolent Scottish noble, distressed at the condition of the Highland peasantry, made more than one effort to transplant some of these people to happier conditions in America. His first effort, a colony in Prince Edward Island, proved a notable success; the second, a colony at Baldoon in western Ontario, proved a failure; from the third resulted the Manitoba of the present day. In the final result Selkirk's work has proved a glorious success but of this he himself saw almost nothing and he died partly of grief at his apparent failure. He was of a sanguine yet cold and shy temperament and he appears to have lacked tact in dealing with men. None the less did he set before himself a noble ambition to people a fertile wilderness and in Canada to-day there are thousands of descendants of men he helped who will rise up and call him blessed.

Selkirk's chief task and the one to which most of the present volume is given was the founding of the Red River Settlement where now stands the great city of Winnipeg. The whole vast North-west was technically the property of the Hudson's Bay Company. By judicial purchase of Hudson's Bay stock Selkirk acquired a dominating interest in the Company, and he secured a grant of land almost as large as the United Kingdom. The formal delivery to his representative was made with imposing ceremony, on September 4, 1812. Selkirk's mind was full of benevolent plans for bringing in settlers, opening roads, building schools, and developing agriculture and raising stock. We know to-day of what the country was capable and that he did not merely dream dreams.

It was one thing, however, to buy land on the Red river and another effectively to occupy it. The Hudson's

Bay Company had a potent rival, the North West Company, with headquarters at Montreal. This Company had inherited the claims of the French pioneers in the west who had reached the prairie country by way of the Great Lakes. The Hudson's Bay Company used the route by Hudson Bay and for the most part had touched a region lying farther north than that frequented by the French. There could be no doubt that legally, on the basis of the charter granted by King Charles II, the Hudson's Bay Company owned the whole land of the North-west. They had, however, never really occupied it. It was the traders from Montreal who frequented chiefly the Red river country and these traders were more alert, enterprising and determined than their rivals from Hudson Bay. They were strong, too, in the support of the Indian tribes and altogether were firmly entrenched in the country.

When Selkirk secured a grant of land on the Red river the Montreal traders read in this the knell of the fur-trade. Across the path to the west would lie a populous settlement. The settlers would destroy the fur-bearing animals and what had become a mighty commerce would be ruined. It thus happened that, from the first, the North West Company was resolved that Selkirk should not succeed. It was one thing for Selkirk to have a legal title to land but another to make the title good. Laws are not self-enforcing. They require behind them effective support and the North West Company could make a greater display of force than Selkirk. Mr. Martin tells the story in elaborate detail. We see the long procession of settlers reaching the Red river overland from Hudson Bay. We share the loneliness, the hardships and also the hopes of these struggling people. They had enemies who would show no pity. When, on January 8, 1814, Selkirk's representative, Miles Macdonnell, ordered that dried buffalo meat, "pemmican", should not be exported from the region the storm burst. The North West traders depended on this supply of food from the Indians and declared that the prohibition was an insult and that an attempt was being made to starve them out.

They destroyed the settlement and scattered the settlers. Two years later, the year after Waterloo, when Robert Semple, a well known man of letters, was sent out to re-establish the colony, he and some twenty others were massacred by the North Westers and their Indian allies. It is a grim story, this tale of blood, which is found at the beginning of so many colonizing efforts. Mr. Martin tells in detail of Selkirk's appeal to the courts of Canada for the punishment of the murderers. It is a *cause célèbre.* Selkirk himself always believed that the Canadian courts were in league with the North West people and that justice was denied him from interested motives. Mr. Martin does not support this charge and the interesting researches of Mr. Justice Riddell seem to vindicate entirely the probity of the Canadian judges. More need not be said here beyond that Mr. Martin's book is another illustration of the interesting dramas, which often become tragedies, to be found in the early history of Canada.

Lettres de Monseigneur Joseph-Norbert Provencher, Premier Évêque de Saint-Boniface. (Bulletin de la Société Historique de Saint Boniface, vol. iii), St. Boniface, Manitoba, 1913. Pp. 286.

The Historical Society of St. Boniface owes its origin to the interest of the late Archbishop Langevin in everything which related to the early history of Roman Catholic missions in the west. To be precise, it was the attempt to discover the resting place of Père Aulneau and of J.-B. de La Vérendrye —the victims of the tragic occurrence on Massacre Island in June 1736—that led directly to the organization of the Society. Though incorporated only in October 1907, it really dated from the expedition in 1902 when a chief of the Sauteux Indians gave the information which led eventually to the discovery of old Fort St. Charles: "le soir même à bord du bateau, la Société Historique de Saint-Boniface était fondée".

Five volumes or pamphlets have hitherto appeared in print: the last volume, in three parts, is reviewed elsewhere

in this volume. The earlier pamphlets are of varying interest and value. The *Lettres de Mgr. Provencher* are contained in volume iii, published in 1913.

Apart from Minutes of Council and a number of valuable blue-books dealing chiefly with isolated periods of conflict, this may be called the first attempt to publish at all *seriatim* any considerable body of correspondence bearing upon the early history of the west. The amount already available for publication is very considerable, but all that is known to be in existence is not equally available. The missions both of the Anglican and of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the government itself (if such it could be called) of this immense district, were directed and discussed in almost every imaginable detail by correspondence, from the founding of the Red River settlement to the admission of Manitoba into Confederation in 1870. That should mean that the history of the middle west may one day be traceable in published records of remarkable uniformity and amplitude.

Chronologically this collection should be one of the earliest, for, as a young priest, Père Provencher was sent by Mgr. Plessis of Quebec to the Red River settlement in 1818—together with Père Dumoulin and M. Edge to similar missions at other points—to reclaim the French and métis for the Roman Catholic Church. The considerations which induced Mgr. Plessis to send this mission are naturally not discussed in this correspondence. Fortunately that is available from other sources; but from 1818 to 1852 these letters afford a more or less continuous commentary upon the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church in the west. In many respects, it is true, the complementary correspondence from Quebec seems to be required to complete the information here contained; but allowing for lapses of proof-reading or of copying (the text is based apparently upon copies of the originals in Quebec) these 286 pages of correspondence are perhaps as valuable as anything of the kind hitherto published.

Their chief interest is naturally ecclesiastical, though they may be said very considerably to supplement and to

confirm, even if they do not modify to any great extent, the more abundant collections of unpublished correspondence bearing upon the secular history of the west. Archbishop Taché's sketch of 1888 has been called the Acts of the Apostles in the west. It was Archbishop Taché himself who had these letters of his revered predecessor copied out, and it was Archbishop Taché's successor who had them published.

It would be possible to illustrate at great length the value of these letters in elucidating more secular materials, and *vice versa*. The relative attitude of Selkirk himself and of the North West Company towards the mission is to be traced in considerable detail: the professions of support by both parties, the decidedly favourable attitude of the missionaries towards the North West Company at the beginning, the gradual clarifying of interests on all sides resulting in the very frank avowal of March 1, 1821 (p. 50): "Je me doute bien que le Nord-Ouest ne fera aucune avance pour la mission de la Rivière Rouge surtout; elle est opposée à toutes leur idées et à leur intérêts. Comme leur commerce est un peu ténébreux, il n'aime guère la lumière des missionnaires qui se trouvent directement en opposition avec eux. Il est honteux pour eux de l'avouer mais il est facile de le comprendre sur les lieux". Selkirk's part, not only in soliciting the mission but in supporting it so generously by gift and direct encouragement, illustrates admirably both his general aims and the remarkable breadth of view in religious matters that he put so fearlessly into practice.

Particularly illuminating—mutually so—are the letters with regard to the visit of Halkett, Selkirk's brother-in-law, to the settlement, and Halkett's own correspondence elsewhere. "The Grasshopper Governor", whose dishonest and mischievous régime Halkett brought to an end, had accorded a cordial reception to the mission (p. 26), and was considered at that time "un brave homme et catholique"; but this does not prevent Père Provencher from remarking candidly at a later date that "les intérêts de sa Seigneurie ne sont pas avant dans le coeur de plusieurs de ceux qu'il paie bien pour

veiller". Halkett's coolness towards the Roman Catholic missions and his refusal even to continue to supply the wine for the mass—a refusal withdrawn (p. 41) by Selkirk himself —should scarcely be recorded apart from that rather sordid episode. As Père Provencher hints, "leur intentions ne sont pas encore bien connues".

Scores of interesting incidents are noticed by the way: Selkirk's gift of the bell for the mission, the utter inadequacy of the colony stores (p. 31), the finding of the remains of Owen "Cavana" (Keveny) who had been murdered on the Winnipeg river (p. 27), the poverty and difficulties of the school (p. 111), the great flood (p. 114), the fact that "les représentants de Mylord Selkirk désireront et demanderont mon retour comme évêque" (1821, p. 51); the numerous references to Père Belcourt and others during the period of the agitation for free trade in furs. "Il faut faire ici Marthe et Marie, il faut conduire le spirituel et le temporal". Here again the mutual elucidation of Bishop Provencher's letters and the official correspondence of the Company is very interesting.

At certain periods the selected correspondence is not voluminous. There are but three letters, for instance, for each of the years 1824, 1831, and 1834; there are only two letters each for the years 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1840 and 1846; there is one letter only from each of the years 1823, 1839, 1841, 1845, 1851 and 1852; and there is not a single letter from the years 1830 and 1850 or from the period from September 26, 1831 to July 16, 1834. The table of contents at the back of the book is useful, but the casual reader might expect an introduction, while the student finds it difficult to forgive the omission of an index from a volume otherwise so useful and interesting.

CHESTER MARTIN

The Société Historique de Saint-Boniface publishes in its *Bulletin* (vol. v, fasc. 2, année 1915; pp. 50) a contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the Canadian west in the shape of a *Rapport de sa grandeur Mgr. Taché, Archevêque*

de Saint-Boniface, à Messieurs les Directeurs de l'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi. The report is dated July 16, 1888, and constitutes a survey of the progress of Roman Catholic missions throughout the western country from the time of the arrival of Provencher, afterwards Bishop of Saint-Boniface, with one companion, at Red River in 1818. The first twenty-six years saw the number of devoted missionary priests increase from two to four. Their work was carried on entirely amongst Indian and half-breed nomads. In 1844 the Red River district was detached from the diocese of Quebec, and Provencher in 1848 became first Bishop of Saint-Boniface. Mgr. Taché himself came to the country in 1851, as coadjutor bishop, with succession to Provencher who died in 1853. The last nine years of Provencher's life had witnessed a marked extension of missionary activity. On Taché's accession to the episcopal throne in 1853, there were thirteen missionary priests or lay brothers and thirteen Sisters of Charity in his diocese. It was during Taché's own lifetime that the great flood of immigration set in with the establishment of the new province of Manitoba. A summary of the history of each missionary parish is given; they number thirty-six. The details will have great value for the historians of the province and the separate localities.

Vie de Mgr. Langevin. Par le R. P. A. G. Morice, O.M.I., M.A. St. Boniface, 1916. Pp. xvii, 374.

The author of this official biography had a task that was more than usually difficult. The personality of Archbishop Taché, Archbishop Langevin's predecessor at St. Boniface, was one of remarkable versatility and distinction, from the days of the Hudson's Bay Company to the early stages of the Manitoba School Question. Despite the bitterness of that struggle his work belonged to the whole of western Canada, and the monumental *Vie de Mgr. Taché*, by Dom. Benoit, is scarcely less than an indispensable adjunct to the history of the west. Archbishop Langevin appears upon the scene in the midst of the bitterest strife in Canada's political history and as the indomitable

protagonist of a party. Both his work and his biography in that sense suffer by comparison. Notwithstanding an uncompromising struggle, Archbishop Langevin was fighting for a lost cause, and he lived to see his allies in that fight not only lost but discredited. This does not mean that the champion of a lost cause cannot be a hero to the vanquished. Archbishop Langevin will remain such to the French Roman Catholics in Manitoba. At the same time that very fact would seem to impair very largely the historical value of his biography.

The chief merit of Father Morice's book is well indicated by Mgr. Brunet: it reveals something of the intimate personality of a man "dont on a beaucoup parlé et dont le grand public ignorait les plus admirables qualités". The watchword of Archbishop Langevin was *Depositum custodi*. In his last recorded comment on the great struggle of his life he was still "bon pour la lutte". In the long course of that struggle his attitude was such that many of his own co-religionists deplored the lack of conciliation, while many of his chief opponents came to regard his uncompromising policy as not only unreasonable but unreasoning. How far this book will tend to mitigate that purely political estimate may be open to question, but it cannot fail to clothe at least one side of the barren struggle with human interest. Father Morice has recorded convincing illustrations of pleasant companionship, of loyalty and devotion to friends, of unobtrusive kindness to the poorest of his flock. Here at least the biography may be said to gain rather than lose by the author's indiscriminate homage.

It is by no means certain that this can be said of other phases of the book. The historical background, as distinct from the purely personal side of the study, is so slight—the statement of the traditional French view at once so unreserved and so uncompromising—that references to politics are frequently indistinguishable from polemics. Harsh expressions uttered on the spur of the moment are to be expected in the midst of a bitter conflict, but estimates even less reserved than those of Mgr. Langevin seem less

easily defensible in the deliberate work of his official biographer. It would be possible to adduce many examples. The School Question can scarcely be summarized as a conflict between "les fils de lumière qui combattent pour la véritable liberté, et les enfans de ténèbres qui ont juré une guerre à mort à la religion de Dieu". The alternative to the Church in education was the State—"peut être une collection de Juifs ou de soi-disant libres-penseurs". In the alternation between Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. R. P. Roblin, Archbishop Langevin is "renvoyé de Caïphe à Pilate". After mandates from both federal and provincial electorates, the provincial government declined to perpetuate separate schools in the new territory added to the province in 1912: "et l'on eut ainsi un nouvel échantillon du fameux *fair play* des Anglais!"

The truth is that one searches almost in vain for evidence that the author subscribes at all to the spirit and fundamental purposes of representative and responsible government. The tragedy of history, it has been said, is not the conflict between right and wrong but between right and right. The tragedy of Manitoban history would seem to be that self-sacrifice and devotion comparable to anything in the whole history of France in America were allowed to become identified in very general estimation with tendencies that seemed not only harmful but disruptive to the state. Father Morice would seem to discern no national danger in bilingual schools open to all the languages of Babel and exploited by a policy of Roman Catholic "colonisation", deliberately and insistently pursued. The object of that policy is stated categorically: "de fonder vingt, trente, cinquante nouvelles paroisses avec des Canadiens des Etats-Unis, des Allemands, des Galiciens, etc., etc. Dieu le veut!" (Mgr. Langevin, Feb. 12, 1899). The attitude towards English is stated with equal frankness: French was "une grande force catholique; l'anglais, dans nos pays est une force pour l'hérésie". "Je serais l'évêque le plus heureux du monde", said Mgr. Langevin, "si les Irlandais voulaient bien imiter les autres nationalités (Allemands, Français, Polonais, etc.) en se

groupant ensemble, au lieu de se mêler au protestants". "Les pièges habiles du protestantisme anglais" is an unhappy phrase to apply to the plea for "l'unité nationale". Many who have gladly sought to accord privileges justified by many years of precedent in Canada, to an historic religion and a beautiful language, have objected in all sincerity to the creation of a little polyglot Austria in Manitoba.

Many references to the historical antecedents of the School Question are equally faulty; in fact Father Morice has offered hostages to any hostile critic who might be bent upon discrediting either his handling of history or the policies which he so vigorously defends.

Unfortunately there is no index, and the Table of Contents is very fragmentary. It is seldom, however, that an official biography is a book of such absorbing interest to the reader. For French Roman Catholics particularly this admirable and intimate study of personality will no doubt supplement a less distinctive admiration for a valiant champion.

CHESTER MARTIN

Mounted Police Life in Canada, a Record of Thirty-one Years' Service. By Captain Burton Deane. London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne: Cassell & Company, 1916. Pp. 312.

The general interest and value of such a book as this goes far to disarm criticism, though it may be expected to precipitate not only criticism but resentment in other quarters. Captain Deane had been for five years adjutant of a division of Royal Marines before going to Regina in 1883 as an Inspector of the Mounted Police force. The Mounted Police had been in operation for ten years, "and had not a standing order", writes Captain Deane, "or regulation of any kind. I was expected to remedy this defect". His services covered thirty-one years and nine months in the force as Inspector, Adjutant, and Superintendent, chiefly at Regina, Lethbridge, Macleod, Maple Creek and Calgary. The most perfunctory record of such a range of experience would be interesting. Captain Deane's

legal and administrative turn of mind has given this work a value far beyond that. There are many allowances to be made—allowances with regard to personal relationships in the force that Captain Deane's downright frankness enables the reader quite adequately to make; but the methodical and business-like habits from military administration are readily discernible in the form and contents of this book. "The people amongst whom I have lived and worked in the west for over thirty years," writes Captain Deane, "will concede that I am as competent a judge of disciplinary administration as any person in Canada, and they will understand that I am telling them historical facts which they are likely to learn from no one but me, and which it is time they were told".

The first chapter, it must be admitted, is apt to make the reader a little critical. "I had been told in Ottawa", writes Captain Deane, "that I should find the Mounted Police an 'armed mob', and I certainly discovered them to be so". The details with regard to indexes and registers, correspondence and reports, discharge by purchase and medical service, are stated with a professional bluntness that leads one to hope that after all the practical usefulness of the force was of another order. General conclusions, in some cases fortified by particular instances and in several cases involving well known names, are stated without qualifications. The fact that much of this is general or personal might destroy very largely the value of the work if the author were invariably partial either to persons or to political parties; but it must be said that the reader's confidence is largely restored by the downright candour with which praise or blame is subsequently distributed in fearless conformity with the author's judgment. The long feud with the Commissioner, Herchmer, and his brother does not prevent the author from paying a very fine tribute or two by the way: "Everyone who knew 'Billy' Herchmer knew that, whatever his failings, lack of courage was not one of them". Similarly the author goes out of his way to remark that the good horses, good transport and good harness for the Milk river outposts in 1889 (hauling

supplies "meant a round trip of 230 miles") were "due to Mr. Commissioner Herchmer". The indictment against political "wire-pulling" ("such trickery as this is quite *comme il faut* in Canada") is modified by half a dozen subsequent instances, in one or two of which the author with considerable humour describes his own experiences in Toronto and Ottawa. Strictures upon the early administration of the N.W.M.P. and upon the present status of the force ("now on the down-grade") are counterbalanced by many instances of merit and very generous praise, such for instance as that on page 22: "Of the recruits I can only say that they were the finest and best behaved lot of men that I have ever been connected with".

The details of administration at Lethbridge, Macleod, Maple Creek and Calgary are of very great interest, but perhaps the most valuable chapters of the book are those dealing with the various phases of the work of the Mounted Police. The chapters on Mounted Police Law, the Crooked Lakes Affair, Cattle Smuggling, Incidents of Mounted Police Life, and Louis Riel's Trial, all add very materially to the history of the past generation in western Canada; though it might be added that the chapter last mentioned derives its chief value from the fact that Riel was under Captain Deane's charge during the trial. Much of the evidence adduced with regard to the trial itself is available in other forms; but several notes, letters, and a few of Riel's rough verses are here published for the first time.

There are four plates, a serviceable index and a map of the N.W. Police District.

Chester Martin

Edmonton et l'Alberta Française is the title of a pamphlet of 40 pages containing "Impressions et Statistiques par M. de la Seine", as published in *Le Courrier de l'Ouest* in 1914 (pp. 31). The immediate occasion of these articles was the third Congrès du Parler Français held in Edmonton in June of that year. The author has obviously little faith in "un feu de paille . . . et rien de plus", in which "chacun s'efforce

de capter les faveurs de l'auditoire plutôt que de promouvoir la cause française dans l'Ouest". The cause of French "colonisation" in Alberta, however, is well summarized. The expedients which have proved of value in Manitoba and elsewhere are well indicated here. "Un 'boycottage' en règle" is advocated against the "veulerie impardonnable" of bakers' and butchers' signs in English in Saint-Albert, "le château fort de notre langue dans l'Extrême-Ouest". The pamphlet closes with an earnest appeal to French-Canadians in Quebec and the United States to reinforce the cause of the French language and influence in the west. By far the most valuable part of the pamphlet is the brief summary of French "colonisation" hitherto accomplished in twenty-two districts of Alberta. Whatever the wisdom or probable success of this policy for western Canada as a whole, the insistent devotion shown in this cause is one of the most admirable illustrations of the remark that the real achievement of the French race in North America was performed not before 1763, but after it.

(5) The Province of British Columbia and the Yukon District

David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America 1784-1812. Edited by J. B. Tyrrell. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1916. Pp. 580.

David Thompson, the most unique character in the fur-trade, died in 1857, penniless and forgotten. So little was known of his achievements that in 1884 the writer of Bancroft's *History of the North West Coast* stated (vol. ii, p. 122) that Thompson built Fort Thompson (Kamloops) and that in 1810-11 he discovered the North Thompson and bewildered by the confused topography followed it to Kamloops Lake before deciding that it was not the Columbia. The world owes its first real knowledge of Thompson to Mr. J. B. Tyrrell who in 1888 published a brief narrative of his journeys. Nine years later the late Dr. Elliott Coues issued his *New Light* into whose footnotes he wove many references to Thompson's work and many extracts from his journals. But that book, though Thompson's name appears as co-author, is really Alexander Henry's Journal with Thompson in a subsidiary place; and the references are so disjointed that it is a task requiring infinite patience to spell out a connected story. Thompson, however, had in 1847-1848 written a *Narrative* of his voyages and explorations which now appears as one of the Champlain Society's publications. Mr. Tyrrell has added a carefully prepared introduction of about 75 pages in which he gathers together all the scattered information concerning this really wonderful man, and gives a concise summary of his movements from 1785 until 1812 when he finally quitted the fur-trading territories. The editor's extensive knowledge of the country east of the Rocky mountains where Thompson laboured from 1784 to 1807, his intimate acquaintance with Thompson's note books, and his professional training particularly fitted him to undertake the task of annotation. The notes upon Thompson's work west of the Rockies are by Mr. T. C. Elliott of

Walla Walla who is recognized as an authority upon that region. The result is that the reader's way is made plain, for the statements of the text are translated into the terms of present-day geography. The annotations are excellent. In their preparation careful use has been made of Thompson's voluminous journals. They indicate the statements in the narrative which vary from the journals and point out where later information, especially in regard to the areas of various lakes, differs from Thompson's figures and estimates.

The *Narrative* is divided into two parts, which differ greatly in their method of treatment. The first, relating to his work east of the Rockies, is general and topical; the second, which deals with his explorations in the Columbia River region, is chronologically connected. The latter seems to have been written in 1847 (p. 413); the former in 1848 (pp 292, 295). The first nine chapters, covering 167 pages, contain Thompson's work for the Hudson's Bay Company; the remainder of the book, nearly 400 pages, is devoted to his work for the North West Company. In those early chapters is contained a sketch of the country round Hudson Bay and of the life in the trading-posts, written in a style as attractive as that of Ballantyne and with the added virtue of accuracy. The only journey dealt with in detail is that which he made to Lake Athabaska in 1796. In the following spring Joseph Colen notified him "that however extensive the countries yet unknown, yet he could not sanction any further surveys". Thompson's time had expired and he determined to join the more energetic traders from Canada.

During the first ten years of his work for the Nor'-Westers he traversed the whole vast region between the Missouri and the Peace rivers, and between Lake Superior and the Rocky mountains. He journeyed to the Mandan villages in midwinter; discovered the "scource" of the Mississippi, which he decided to be in Turtle Lake; travelled thence to Lake Superior; worked through the maze of lakes and rivers to the northward and westward of Lake Winnipeg; and fixed by astronomical observations the positions of the Company's forts in all this great expanse. From about

1800 he hovered around the headwaters of the Saskatchewan, travelling thence to Rainy River and northward to Lake Athabaska. The country had been known in a general way for some years; his work was consequently more in the nature of surveys than of explorations. Evading the Piegans, who were opposed to the extension of trade to their enemies the Kootenays, he in 1807 crossed the Rocky mountains to the main stream of the Columbia river and built Kootenae House, the first on any of the waters of that river. During the next five years he explored the Columbia and its upper tributaries, built trading-posts, made innumerable observations to ascertain the situation of all points of importance, and navigated the whole river from its source to its mouth. The fire arms and iron weapons which he brought to the Kootenays and Salish enabled them to meet the Piegans on an equal footing. The latter determined in 1810 to "blockade" Howse Pass to prevent further supplies reaching their foes. Thompson was therefore forced to abandon his old route and seek a passage by the defiles of the Athabaska. The hardships of his midwinter pioneering through the unknown Athabaska Pass are simply and attractively described. On the height of land a cold and cheerless night was spent in the snow without fire or shelter. When he returned from an examination of the vicinity he found his craven-hearted men trying to find the depth of the snow and bemoaning because, with a pole twenty feet in length, they could not reach the ground. He endeavoured to cheer them by reminding them that since they had snow shoes the depth was of no importance. Reaching the Columbia he spent the remainder of the winter at Boat Encampment. In the spring of 1811 he resumed his voyage up the river to its source and by his familiar trail to Spokane. He arrived again at the Columbia at Kettle Falls and thence descended it to Astoria. In 1812 he left the west and took up his residence near Montreal where he prepared his celebrated map, of which a copy accompanies the volume under review.

No one can read Thompson's unvarnished tale without a feeling of admiration for this remarkable man—astronomer,

geographer, explorer, and discoverer. He seems to annihilate time and space: he travels so far in one day that his Indian thinks the journey must have occupied two days, during one of which he must have slept; he journeys to Rainy River House with wonderful celerity, remains a few days and sets out on his return trip; he travels to the Mandan villages in midwinter, across wind-blown prairies in zero weather and amid snowstorms, with his compass as his only guide. Nothing escapes him: the natural phenomena, the geological formations, the customs, peculiarities of language and beliefs of the Indians, the habits of birds and animals, even their measurements and weights. His ability as an artist is evidenced by the sketches of mountain scenes, three of which are reproduced. By the Indians he is regarded as a supernatural creature, because of his constant use of the sextant and the compass. He threads his way through the confused and jumbled region west of the Rocky mountains with an uncanny facility which seems almost instinct—a word, by the way, that he abhors.

In the composition of the *Narrative* Thompson seems to have used his note-books extensively, but occasionally he has relied upon his memory. He was then a man of about seventy-seven years of age. The result is shown in such slips as his statement of the establishment of a trading-post by Finam McDonald on the Kootenay river in 1807 (pp. 378-379), for 1808, and the descent in 1810 of the Spokane river (p. 427), instead of the Pend d'Oreille river.

The volume is the most valuable contribution to western history which has appeared since the days of Thompson's contemporaries. While every one interested in the subject hails with delight this long expected book, we may express our regret that the opportunity was not seized to include more extensive quotations from Thompson's Journals and thus give the pith of those volumes whose very size effectually prevents their publication. The inclusion of a modern map on a sufficiently large scale would have been of advantage to many readers.

F. W. HOWAY

Until about twenty years ago the authorities upon the Lewis and Clark exploration of 1803-1806—one of the chief supports of the American claim to Old Oregon—were Gass's *Journal* and the various editions of Biddle's narrative of the expedition. Both of these works were prepared for popular reading. Other journals were known to exist but it was not until about 1894 that the increasing interest in all things western resulted in the publication of Floyd's *Journal*. About ten years later this was followed by Thwaites' monumental *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, with fragments of Floyd's and Whitehouse's journals. McKay's *Journal* appeared in 1915; and now comes Ordway's.* All these recent publications are given exactly as written, even to the queer contractions and divergent orthography. Strangely enough in this mass of material Ordway's *Journal* is the only complete daily record of the voyage written by one man; even Clark has a gap of ten days, of which only a summary is given later. Ordway's entries are fuller than those of Gass. Students of local history will find it useful to compare these two journals. Much information has been added by Mr. Quaife, the editor, in the footnotes, which are quite voluminous, very interesting, and generally speaking accurate. Some of his identifications of the places mentioned in the journal may however be questioned. The military nature of the expedition is shown by the lavish administration of the whip—judged by the standards of to-day—fifty and even a hundred lashes being frequently ordered. The latter number Clark refers to as "a little punishment". Prefixed to the journal is Lewis's diary of the voyage from Pittsburg to Camp Dubois where the winter of 1803-4 was spent. Eleven illustrations and two maps of the route are included. The introduction, of fifteen pages, is a well executed summary enabling the general reader to understand the historical setting.

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* *The Journals of Captain Lewis and Sergeant Ordway on the expedition 1803-1806.* With introduction and notes by Milo M. Quaife. Winconsin Historical Society, Madison, 1916. Pp. 444.

Early Days in Old Oregon. By Katharine B. Judson. Chicago: McClurg & Co., 1916. Pp. 263.

Miss Judson's book is an attempt to produce in the form of romantic episodes a connected history of Old Oregon. The result is a book, readable, it is true, but fragmentary, unreliable, and out of balance. Though the usual claim of original research is made the work does not sustain it; all the material comes from the well known and easily accessible sources. The incidents in the disconnected chapters vary greatly in historical value. In the endeavour to write history romantically three chapters are devoted to trivial events recorded by Cox and Ross, which, thus magnified, disturb the slight semblance of historic perspective. Mackenzie, Fraser, Thompson, and Vancouver, whose lives and explorations contain romance enough to satisfy the most exacting, find no place; why, it is difficult to understand, especially as in the preface the author lays stress upon the vast extent of Old Oregon, stretching "from the northern border of Mexican California to near Sitka in Russian America". But after the third chapter Old Oregon seems to shrink into the territory south of the forty-ninth parallel. Some chapters, especially those on Fort Vancouver and the Oregon Trail, contain wonderfully vivid pictures of the life of those days.

The really valuable portions of the volume are the chapter "Who owned Oregon?" and the final brief essay on Old Oregon history. In these the romantic form of treatment is abandoned. They contain a very fair—almost judicial—discussion of the Oregon Question. Clearing away national prejudice and sectarian myth Miss Judson deals with the vexed problem from the point of view of each claimant, though not so fully as we should have desired. The concluding summary plainly shows that the author *can* write history.

The book is "especially intended for children". This, however, does not justify the almost babyish language so frequently employed, nor such expressions as "all right", "onto", and other similar inelegancies. Nor does it excuse

the many errors of fact. Captain Cook was not instructed to seek the "Great River of the West"; he anchored in Resolution Cove, not in Friendly Cove; Juan de Fuca was not a saint, nor is the name of the strait San Juan de Fuca; at the meeting near Cape Flattery Vancouver did not invite Gray to visit him nor did the "Yankee go aboard the British vessel for a friendly chat": on the contrary both Vancouver's *Voyage* and the *New Vancouver Journal* agree that the British captain sent two of his officers to the Boston vessel to make certain enquiries; Gray's log is silent regarding any taking possession of the Columbia River region—no one ever heard of such a claim until about fifty years afterwards when his widow was applying for a pension, and even then the language used is not such as to inspire confidence that the alleged event actually happened. These errors taken from the first thirty pages are a fair sample of the carelessness which characterizes the book.

A bibliography of eight pages is added containing Miss Judson's estimate of the principal authorities; the absence of any reference to the works of Cook, Meares, Mackenzie, Vancouver, Fraser, Thompson and others is simply inexplicable.

F. W. HOWAY

The second edition of the *Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon* which was issued in 1911 has just appeared.* The two or three errors in the original edition of this handy and reliable little volume (see REVIEW, vol. xvii, p. 119) have been corrected. An introductory sketch of pre-McLoughlin days and a supplementary chapter covering recent events round out the book and justify the elision of the word "Pioneer" from the title. Consonant with this extension the illustrations now include those of the later archbishops. In the introduction the date of the Hudson's Bay Company's charter is given as 1669: it should, of course, be 1670; it may be questioned whether Jonathan Carver was a "great

* *Catholic History of Oregon.* By Edwin V. O'Hara. Portland, Or.: Catholic Book Co., 1916. Pp. xi, 165.

traveller": many there are who think him great in other capacities.

Marshall's *Acquisition of Oregon*, in the opinion of unbiassed historians, effectually destroyed the Whitman-saved-Oregon story. His language was occasionally over-heated; but he marshalled his facts so convincingly that even before his great work appeared he had converted many, including John Fiske, who publicly renounced his belief in the myth (See this REVIEW, vol. xvii, p. 123). Now comes Professor W. D. Lyman of Whitman College. His paper on *The Whitman Question* (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. vii, pp. 99-122) commences with the statement that he will not "endeavour mainly to support any certain view of the Whitman controversy"; but it soon develops into a partisan argument bristling with vitriolic expressions against those who regard the story as fiction. The subject touches Canadian history as a part of the Oregon dispute. Mr. Lyman seems to think that the burden is on those who dispute the story to prove its untruth. He lays down a series of rules and uses them as though the evidence were to be treated in water-tight compartments, forgetting that, after all, rules are only a means to an end, only instruments for finding the truth. He fails to realize that a story given to the world for the first time about twenty years after the alleged event and many years after all fear of the Hudson's Bay Company, if any ever really existed, had disappeared, comes tinged at the outset with improbability and throws upon its supporters the onus of producing something more convincing than some person's vague remembrance of what his father told him that some one else had told him. Whitman was murdered in 1847; the ride was made in 1842; the Treaty of Washington was signed in 1846; what more natural than to expect that the story if true would have appeared immediately after the great immigrations or at any rate immediately after Whitman's death? Instead of that, dead silence for seventeen years. Upon Mr. Lyman's argument that the story *may* be true because, though no word can be

found to support it in the written records, none can be found against it, every legend becomes history. Historical facts, however, cannot rest on such foundations.

The Diary of the Rev. Jason Lee from April 20, 1834 to October 1, 1834. (The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xvii, pp. 116-146, 240-266.)

Fort Hall on the Saptin River. By Miles Cannon. (The Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vii, pp. 217-232.)

Whilst Old Oregon was yet a fur-preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company a New England school-master conceived plans for its settlement. One of his apostles was Nathaniel J. Wyeth, who, not discouraged by the failure of his first venture, led a second expedition to Oregon in 1834. Accompanying the party were Townsend, whose *Narrative* is a western classic, and the first Methodist missionaries, Jason Lee and his associates. "There are none of the dignitaries with me as yet" writes Wyeth from Independence in April 1834, "and if they 'preach' much longer in the States they will lose their passage for I will not wait a minute for them". They arrived, however, five days later. Jason Lee's diary of the journey is interesting as being one of the earliest records of the Oregon Trail; the student will find it useful for comparison with Townsend's *Narrative* and Wyeth's *Second Journal.* Soon after meeting Captain Bonneville's party, when the celebrated debauch familiar to all readers of Irving's *Captain Bonneville* occurred, the well known Thomas McKay, whose father was lost on the *Tonquin*, arrived and joined the company. Wyeth had determined to build on the Snake river a fort, which was afterwards known as Fort Hall. The diary of July 14, 1834, quaintly says, "The Capt. is gone to search for a Fort"; but it gives no details concerning the work. Religious ejaculations form a kind of fitting finale to many of the entries. Mention is made of a sermon preached at the fort, of its text, and of the death and burial with proper Christian forms of one of McKay's men. In August when nearing the Columbia river

the reverend diarist enters the fact that he has been reading Byron's *Sardanapalus* and adds that any one "who could write such stuff as his 'Vision of Judgment' must be—I think—if not an infidel in principle (which is most probible) a total stranger to all vital experimental religion". Reaching Fort Walla Walla on September 2nd, he was disappointed to find that this Hudson's Bay Company's post had no food except corn and flour, salt, a little fat, and a few fish. Twelve days by water brought the travellers to Fort Vancouver and ended their four and a half months' voyage from Independence. The diary bears witness to the kindly treatment of the missionaries by Dr. McLoughlin, who paid them every attention, stored their goods, gave them living apartments, and fed them with the best the country afforded.

Mr. Cannon's article shows that Fort Hall was built by Wyeth in order to dispose of the goods which he had brought in for the Rocky Mountain Fur Company but which to his astonishment they refused. It was the concrete form of his threat, "I will roll a stone in your garden that you will have trouble in getting out". The author has collected into convenient form many facts relating to the exact position of the fort, its foundation, and its early life; but its complete history is yet to be written. He shows that Fort Boisé was built by the Hudson's Bay Company to neutralize the influence of Wyeth's establishment. But failure seemed to cling to the skirts of Wyeth's undertakings and in about a year he disposed of Fort Hall to his rivals. When the immigrants began to beat the Oregon Trail into a great highway these two trading posts became of importance. Indeed without their aid it is difficult to conceive how such large numbers of settlers could have made the journey to the Columbia region.

Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House 1834-1835. With introduction and notes by C. B. Bagley. (Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vii, pp. 59-75, 144-167.)

These two instalments complete the publication of the first volume of these journals; of which about fifteen still remain in the editor's possession, unpublished. It is therefore with great regret that we learn that it is not intended at present to continue the reproduction of these tap-roots of history. Kept by a scholar like Dr. Tolmie they extend far beyond the mere business of the post, and, dealing with all occurrences in the vicinity, give a lively realization of the life in and around the trading post. The *Dryad* and the *Llama* arrive and depart; the Indians gather to trade; the Fort Langley canoes and the Vancouver brigade come and go; and the farming operations are carried on from day to day. The change since the days when the natives threw their skins on the deck of Dixon's vessel and gratefully accepted two or three little pieces of iron in payment is shown by the entry: "A sea-otter skin was brought me but did not agree in the price", and on the following day: "The Clallams have gone away and carried back their sea-otter". Only one sea-otter skin purchased in a whole year! The trade included not only all kinds of fur, but also venison, ducks and cranes, roots, and "hyouquois". The latter is the money shell *dentalium indianorum*—hiaqua. The journal does not disclose the disposition that was made of the one hundred and seventy fathoms of these shells; probably they were obtained for barter with the inland tribes. Sunday was always observed as a day of rest. The Indians then gathered to hear Dr. Tolmie, who on one occasion exhorted them "to keep their hands from killing and stealing, to love one another, and to pray to the Great Master of Life". These religious exercises usually concluded with a ceremonial dance. A sick Indian woman is attended by the medicine man. "She is bent", says the journal, "on getting herself blowed by her countryman". She obtains medicines from Dr. Tolmie, but their beneficial results are credited to the shaman. A month later she dies; no cure, no pay, seems to have been the law, and the shaman returns the payments. New cults arise amongst these Indians as in the case of "Pe-ne" amongst the Babines, a few years later.

A brave who had intended to launch a new religion consulted Dr. Tolmie regarding his supernatural vision. The journal entry continues: "In a dream he was presented with a written paper and eighteen blankets from above; the latter are invisible, but the former the Indians say he has about him". Under the date of June 19th, 1834, an interesting record is preserved: the *Llama* arrived on that day having on board two "Chinese"—in reality, Japanese—who had been rescued from the Indians when their dismasted junk, blown across the wide Pacific, had been driven on the rocks at Cape Flattery.

The explanatory notes are full and complete; the work of annotation has been very thoroughly done.

F. W. HOWAY

In March 1916 at the unveiling of a monument to the *First American Settlement on Puget Sound*, Professor Meany delivered an address (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. vii, pp. 136-143) in which he reviewed in a general way the economic beginnings of that region. Nisqually House, a Hudson's Bay Company's trading post, established in 1833, was its first home of civilized man. As the Oregon dispute waxed warmer Slocum and Wilkes visited the Sound and made long reports upon its possibilities. Methodist Episcopal missionaries arrived in 1840, but remained less than two years. In October 1845 the first families settled at Tumwater, near the present Olympia. They were entirely dependent on Fort Nisqually for their food, clothing, and market. To assist them the much-maligned Company purchased their shingles to a far greater extent than its business required and as a result the Hawaiian market was glutted. The address, being for popular consumption, does not enter into details, nor sketch the early difficulties of the settlement, nor its gradual growth. The author refers to the Ashburton Treaty, 1842, as fixing the boundary along the forty-ninth parallel to the Rocky mountains. This is manifest error. That line was defined by the treaty of 1818. The

Ashburton Treaty settled the Maine boundary and that extending from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods.

Miss Katharine B. Judson has just published a lengthy *Letter from Dr. John McLoughlin to Sir George Simpson dated March 20, 1844* (*Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xvii, pp. 215-239). The relations between these two men had for over two years been steadily growing more strained; the condition was now one of chronic dispute. McLoughlin puts in the forefront the murder of his son. Everything points to this as the root of the hostility. The remainder of the letter is devoted to a defence of his management of the Western Department against the various complaints that Simpson had made. He enters into the details regarding the establishment at San Francisco; the number of men employed in and around Fort Vancouver; the operations of the various vessels; and similar matters of internal concern. He seems to make a strong defence, but unfortunately the complete materials on which to form a judgment are not as yet available: Simpson's letters have not been published. In the twenty-fifth paragraph McLoughlin mentions the completion of Fort Victoria, which had been built by Douglas during the preceding summer, and, after a general description of the post, continues: "Mr. Ross [who was in charge] is going on with the buildings, and this year will plant a large quantity of potatoes so that by having flour, pease, and a few barrels of beef and pork he will be able to afford refreshments next winter to any vessel that may call there". This shows that from the outset the business of Fort Victoria was expected to reach beyond the fur-trade.

The Cariboo Trail, a Chronicle of the gold-fields of British Columbia. By Agnes C. Laut. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916. Pp. 115.

If the title were a key to the contents this book would be expected to contain an account of the trails to Cariboo,

of that wonderful highway, the Cariboo Road, and some description of the varied and romantic life upon them. In reality it deals primarily with the early mining days of British Columbia; the trails and roads to the great gold-field are treated as merely incidental. One is surprised to find the author stating:

> "How these people ever gained access to the centre of the wilderness [Cariboo] before the famous Cariboo Road had been built is a mystery. Some arrived by pack train, some by canoe, but the majority afoot."

Despite this statement there is not the least mystery about the subject. The files of the newspapers of the time, the maps, books, and reports, and the letters and other documents preserved in the archives contain such ample and exhaustive materials that he who runs may read. Even a short conversation with any of the few remaining pioneers would have made the matter plain.

The first three chapters deal with the discovery of gold on the Fraser and the gradual widening of the search until the rich placers of Cariboo are found; the three following chapters are a summary of Mrs. McNaughton's *Overland to Cariboo*, detailing the adventures of a party of about one hundred and fifty who crossed the continent from Fort Garry to British Columbia in 1862; another chapter describes the life in Cariboo; and the final one, ten pages, is entitled "the Cariboo Road". The reader seeks vainly for a picture of the rude trails and the arduous life of their hardy travellers, or for any visualization of the bustling industry upon the Cariboo Road. Yet for about fifteen years that road *was* British Columbia; thousands upon thousands of miners passed over it; and millions upon millions of treasure were transported along it. The author has missed a great opportunity.

So far as its description of prospecting is concerned the book contains a fundamental error which renders it of little value. Miss Laut has confused two totally different classes of mining—placer and lode. The mining in Cariboo was of the former class, yet to it she applies the language of the latter—"mother lode", "float", "vein". The prospecting

which she describes as being that of Cariboo in the "sixties" is in truth that of the Kootenays in the "nineties", when lodes or ledges and not placer were being sought. For instance, on page 22, in dealing with prospecting on the bars of the Fraser river in 1859, she gives an account of the discovery of the Silver King mine near Nelson in 1887. Some strange results follow from this confusion:

> "What was the float? A sandy chunk of gravel [whatever that may mean] perhaps flaked with yellow specks the size of a pin head. He wanted to know where that chunk rolled down from. He knocked it open with his mallet. If it had a shiny yellow pebble inside only the size of a pea the miner would stay on that bank and begin bench diggings into the dry bank" (p. 21).

This can only be characterized as meaningless and absurd. The placer miner was looking for "colours" not "float". He tested the ground with his pan, not with a "mallet". A piece of gold "only the size of a pea" would have delighted him immensely; usually he was pleased to obtain a few specks. A few pages later this incoherent statement occurs: "The float lost itself in a rounded knoll in the lap of a dozen peaks; and the miners had to decide which of the benches to tunnel" (p. 25). We are told (p. 41) that "Bank facings seemed to indicate that the richest pay dirt lay at bed rock". Where else would it be expected to be found? Again it is stated:

> "Even where the gravel merged to whitish gold quartz the most expert engineer in the camp could not tell when the vein would fault and cease as entirely as if cut off" (p. 48). "Later when the pay dirt showed signs of merging into quartz there passed away for ever the day of the penniless prospector, etc." (p. 108).

These quotations refer to the mining on Williams Creek. They are absolutely unintelligible. "Gravel merging into quartz" is a collection of words which conveys no meaning.

The author's prospectors of the "sixties" are strange creatures. They exist only in fiction. They want iron ladles and wire screens (p. 2); they signal by heliograph (p. 20); "cache" their canoes in trees (p. 20); prospect with a mallet and eat rice (p. 21); have pack trains (p. 27); and search for placer above the clouds and the timber line (p. 28). The book is interestingly written, but such errors

make it quite worthless. It contains about a dozen illustrations more or less germane to the subject.

F. W. HOWAY

In May 1854 a party comprising sixty-five persons, men, women, and children, left Fort Garry for California. They travelled by the Hudson's Bay Company's roads to Fort Carlton and thence by way of Forts Pitt and Edmonton to the Bow river. On their arrival at the Rocky Mountains they transformed their Red River carts into pack saddles for the remainder of the journey. Traversing these mountains by the route taken by Sir George Simpson thirteen years before, they reached the headwaters of the Columbia river, crossed Canal Flat to the Kootenay, and followed David Thompson's old path to Pend d'Oreille, and thence to Walla Walla. The story of the journey of *The Sinclair Party* which occupied about seven months is now given by John V. Campbell, one of the company (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. vii, pp. 187-201). Written by a man of over eighty years of age, after such a great interval, without the assistance of any diary, the story is a mere skeleton. No incidents of any importance, no adventures, and no difficulties are reported; its value historically is very slight. A few footnotes have been added to clarify the references in the text. The very paucity of these notes indicates the small importance of the document.

In the Wake of the War Canoe. By W. H. Collison. London: Seeley Service & Co., 1915. Pp. 352.

Archdeacon Collison has published an interesting account of his forty years' labours amongst the Indians of northern British Columbia. The book is primarily intended for those interested in mission work; though the general reader will find, scattered here and there, items of historical value. The treatment being topical there is no sequence, and the gaps incident to such a plan are many and plainly seen. The reader obtains views of a life now almost extinct; the

uncouth mummeries of the medicine men; the strange clan system with its rude crests and its curious totem poles; the tattooing, the potlatch customs, the gambling, and the cruel ceremonial rites of the cannibalistic and other secret societies. Christianity made slow progress against these evils and superstitions.

One name stands pre-eminent in this field—the name of William Duncan, the pioneer missionary, the apostle of the Tsimshian—yet it is a name that rarely appears in this book. Though Mr. Collison was in the heat of the dispute between Bishop Ridley and Mr. Duncan which wrecked the model settlement of Metlakahtla and though he was closely in touch with the bishop, upon whom the blame has been generally laid, not one word is given to the sad event. All the world has praised Duncan; but our author has no commendation for him. On the contrary fault is found with his settlement at Metlakahtla (p. 33) and his failure to create a mission at Skidegate to forestall the Methodists (pp. 179-180); and it is even claimed that Duncan's successful secular undertakings originated in the author's suggestions (pp. 56. 251).

The archdeacon has numerous adventures which are very plainly told. Once his canoe is chased by sea-lions on mischief bent; on another occasion it is persistently followed by an enormous shark whose huge dorsal fin overtops the frail vessel: in despair one of the Indians strikes it with a pole and it disappears. Many are his narrow escapes in crossing Dixon Entrance and in navigating canoes round Queen Charlotte Islands and across to the mainland.

His historical references are frequently inaccurate. He speaks of meeting, about 1876, Edenshew, the chief who in 1788 exchanged names with Captain Douglas (p. 261), utterly oblivious of the fact that Edenshaw is an hereditary name, and that the Edenshaw who made the exchange died about 1829 (see Green's *Journal*, p. 66); Fort Oregon was not the first fort of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia (p. 127): no fort of that name ever existed. In orthography he fares no better: Esquimault (p. 89) for

Esquimalt, Wrangle (p. 147) for Wrangell, and Stikeen (p. 147) for Stikine. In etymology: he gives the Chinook jargon word Klahowya, which he spells "Clak how ya", as a resultant from "Clark how are you?". This has nothing but ingenuity to recommend it: the word is pure Chinook (see Hale, *Chinook Jargon*, p. 44). As to the legend that the Hudson's Bay Company required in exchange for a musket as many skins as, piled up, would reach its muzzle, the least examination would have shown that that Company had a defined scale of prices at every fort.

The illustrations are well chosen; the book is well printed; and there is a passable index.

F. W. HOWAY

The early days of Methodist missionary effort amongst the Indians of the north-west coast are very modestly and realistically described by the late Rev. Thomas Crosby in *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast* (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1914; pp. 403). As Chairman of Port Simpson District for nearly twenty-five years, Dr. Crosby spent much of his time on the water visiting the scattered posts of his truly immense circuit. His name stands side by side with that of William Duncan in the evangelization of northern British Columbia. For the first twenty years an ordinary Indian canoe was his regular means of transport. On calm seas all went well, but in boisterous weather the savages would surreptitiously seek succour from their ancient gods. The primitive conveyance was supplanted by a small steam yacht, yet the missionary's labours were not materially reduced thereby; its greater radius of movement augmented his task and increased his responsibilities. Although written to stimulate missionary effort, the book contains considerable historical matter and information for the lay reader, especially in its Indian legends and customs and in its descriptions of totemism and shamanism. On the whole it gives a good picture of pioneering in the first discovered but least known portion of British Columbia.

The Call of the West: Letters from British Columbia, by C. F. J. Galloway (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1916; pp. 328) is a book of very recent travel, extending over a period of four years, throughout the length and breadth of British Columbia, thence by steamer to Panama, and by way of the canal zone to Jamaica. The portion relating to the Pacific province covers seven out of the eight chapters. Written as a series of letters rather than as a connected narrative, and with a free use of western colloquialisms to add colour, the book holds the reader's attention to the end. Every mode of travel in British Columbia is experienced and described, from a luxurious chair in a modern observation car to a risky seat in a "cranky" canoe on some wild stream far beyond the frontier line of settlement. The hardships met and overcome lose nothing in the telling. Although the descriptions of cities and city life are accurate the author has no admiration for cities and their portrayal lacks the breezy attention-arresting narration of life amidst "the most magnificent scenery on God's earth". The history of the province is not touched upon except in a few instances in courtesy to some vanishing landmark. There is a fine picture of the Cariboo Road and the vicissitudes of travel over it in the depth of winter. Some slight errors occur, the most noticeable being the mis-spelling of Captain Vancouver's name: "Van Couver" (p. 240). More than a hundred well chosen illustrations illuminate the text and add to the reader's enjoyment.

The Tourist's Northwest, by Ruth Kedzie Wood (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1916; pp. xiv, 528) is a guide-book similar to that on the Maritime Provinces by the same author reviewed last year. The present volume includes American States as well as British Columbia and adjoining parts of Alberta. Guide-book information is naturally the most prominent feature, but not so much in the form of dry statistics or bare enumeration of natural beauties. The authoress has put some of her own feelings into her descriptions. Even in the recommendation of hotels

there is a discriminating interest shown about gastronomic details that is in refreshing contrast to the usual indifference of guide-books to such highly important matters. The authoress's history is accurate.

In two articles on *Alaska under the Russians* (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. vii, pp. 202-216, 278-295) Mr. C. L. Andrews gives an outline of the early days of Alaska. A considerable portion relates to the period before the boundary line of 1825 was drawn, and is therefore closely connected with Canadian history. Every page shows careful work; the pictures are complete and well drawn; the statements are accurate, and supported by many references to original sources. Baranof occupied the same position in Alaska as Dr. McLoughlin in Old Oregon; and there the resemblance between the two men has been supposed to cease. The popular conception of Baranof, derived partially, at any rate, from Washington Irving, is that of a drinking despot, reeking with raw rum, forcing visitors and subordinates alike to join him in his carousals, and refusing to transact business except in a state of semi-intoxication. Mr. Andrews shows the real man who for twenty-eight years was the moving spirit in the extension of Russian influence. When he entered upon his work one trading-post represented the total Russian possessions. Setting himself to the task with intense energy he subdued the various native tribes; erected schools and churches; introduced cattle; built ships; opened mines; extended the fur-trade and expanded the business of the Russian American Company even to China. When the poor material he had to work with is remembered these results must stamp him as a man of foresight and resolution. His scheme of establishing a trading-post in the Sandwich Islands was only prevented by the determined opposition of the American and English traders. In 1818 when he was summarily recalled he left Russia in possession of an empire embracing the Alaska of to-day, the Pribyloff and Kurile Islands, and with an outpost at Fort Ross near San Francisco, eight hundred miles to the southward. His successors, pur-

suing a different course against the "Boston pedlars", induced the Czar to issue the ukase of 1821, out of which sprang the treaties of 1824 and 1825 delimiting Russian territory in America. Their foolish conduct in preventing Ogden from entering the Stikine river ended in the Hudson's Bay Company's obtaining a lease of all the *lisière*, thus reducing still more the importance of the Russian establishments, not only by the territory actually transferred, but also by the sphere of British influence which despite their best endeavours extended beyond the limits of the leased area.

From the days of the fur-traders the dangers of the Pacific coast line have been gradually spelled out. Vancouver's monumental work forms the basis of the charts of British Columbian waters; but the Russian and American charts of the Alaskan coast are quite incomplete. Ingraham's rough charts of 1791 and 1792 constitute even now the only guides for certain portions of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Under such circumstances the wonder is that wrecks upon unknown reefs and uncharted pinnacle rocks have not been more frequent. Mr. C. L. Andrews' article *Marine Disasters of the Alaskan Route* (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. vii, pp. 21-37) is a mere chronology of disasters; no attempt is made to elucidate the subject. It will however be useful as a sort of appendix to Lewis and Dryden's familiar work. A tabulated list of wrecks occurring since 1848, representing losses of over twelve million dollars, is added to the article. A few errors are to be noticed: Butterworth was not the name of a man, but of a ship, whose master's name was Brown; it is always dangerous to speak of "the first" unless it is the first: the accident to the *Discovery* in 1792 is not by any means the first which occurred; Haswell's *Log*, and Ingraham's *Journal* contain references to their vessels' striking rocks.

When Governor Simpson visited the Pacific coast in 1824-5 he instructed Alexander Ross (see *Fur Hunters*, vol.

2, p. 156) to select two Indian boys to be educated at Red River. One of these lads, Spokane Garry, was the son of a Spokane chief. Completing his five years' training Garry returned to his people and for a time endeavoured to instruct and improve them. In 1841 Simpson was disappointed in finding him relapsed into his old barbarism, a gambler, and altogether worthless. Mr. William S. Lewis in *The Case of Spokane Garry* (*Bulletin* of the Spokane Historical Society, vol. i, no. i, pp. 68) has made a careful study of his life in an endeavour to rehabilitate him in the eyes of the world. The author has collected a vast amount of information in regard to this man; he has examined critically the multitude of references to him scattered through books of travel, published and unpublished diaries, and manuscripts; and he certainly makes out a strong case for a reconsideration of the verdict upon Garry. As one closes the volume there is a feeling that it is rather in the nature of a brief on behalf of Garry than an impartial judgment upon him.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS

Canada's Future, What She Offers after the War, a Symposium of Official Opinion. Edited by E. A. Victor. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1916. Pp. xvi, 320.

This book is a compilation of short papers, some fifty in number, by a great variety of writers. Mr. Victor, who met a tragic death just after the book was issued, has been very successful in eliciting papers from leading authorities on many Canadian questions as well as from prominent politicians who give deliverances on the whole situation or on the prospects after the war of the several provinces. Practically every aspect of life in Canada is given consideration.

Yet one wonders just what service a book of this kind is meant to render. The Editor's Introduction dwells much on "practically illimitable resources", "almost unlimited opportunities", the appeal of Canada to prospective British immigrants, and so on. Whence it would seem as if the book were addressed to possible immigrants. If so, it might well stimulate their interest, but it would be sadly lacking as a practical guide and even at points misleading. The fact is that a satisfactory view of Canada cannot be obtained by getting overworked politicians and others to throw off articles of a few pages. The resulting book has no unity, no common principle. The articles vary greatly in quality. Some, as for example Mr. J. S. Dennis's paper on "Making the Desert Bloom", are real contributions to the subjects with which they deal; others, such as President Falconer's article on "The Educational Facilities of Canada", are careful reviews of the existing situation; but others are of the slightest and most perfunctory character, combinations of platitude and prophecy. The articles are juxtaposed without sequence or ascertainable order. The space devoted to the various subjects seems to bear no relation to their relative importance. There are only three pages devoted to

the subject of Canadian railways as compared with thirty devoted to Canadian sports. One of the most important of all Canadian questions, "Labour Conditions in Canada after the War", is disposed of in three superficial paragraphs by the federal Minister of Labour.

The title of Mr. Watson Griffin's work *Canada the country of the Twentieth Century* (Ottawa, 1915; pp. 283) perhaps suggests too much those indiscriminately laudatory descriptions which reveal the hand of the advertiser. But the book itself is more restrained that the title, and while its object is to set forth the great economic advantages and opportunities which the country possesses, it does so in a strictly practical way and throughout on the basis of facts and figures taken from government returns. In one sense, the book is an advertisement. It was prepared according to instructions of the Department of Trade and Commerce "for the purpose of giving business men who have never visited the Dominion a comprehensive but epitomized review of its agricultural, forest, and mineral resources, its industrial and commercial development, and its geographical relation to the markets of the world". This purpose it admirably fulfils. It is a handsome volume, well arranged and well indexed, profusely illustrated, and provided with excellent maps. There are chapters devoted to each of the great geographical divisions of the country, besides special chapters on fisheries, water-powers, manufactures, forest products, and farm products. A great amount of information is given in small space, and the information is itself well presented and accurate. In fact, there is perhaps no volume of similar size which gives so complete a summary of the many economic activities and opportunities of Canada as is here presented. For that reason it would be a good thing to make it available not only for "business men who have never visited the Dominion" but also for the many Canadians who know but a small part of their own country.

In the numbers of the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for March and April, 1916 (pp. 113-130, 173-187), Dr. H. M. Cadell gives a comprehensive account of *The Resources of Canada*, partly derived from personal observation during a tour of Canada in 1913, partly from the Reports of the Commission of Conservation and other sources. Although there are one or two slips in the account—he speaks for instance of the climate of the prairies as less rigorous in winter than that of Nova Scotia—it is on the whole a very good presentation of the facts. It is at the present time interesting to note that a scientific observer of Canada is as much struck by the waste as by the magnitude of the national resources. Forests, fisheries, land, alike reveal the signs of "prodigious waste". "The war", Dr. Cadell adds, "may be a blessing in disguise if it only leads to more economy and greater attention to the development on sober and wise lines of these immense natural resources".

The chief Canadian statistical publication, the *Canada Year Book* (Ottawa: 1916; pp. xvi, 707), has become truly a series. Under the direction of Mr. E. H. Godfrey and more recently through the encouragement of the new census commissioner, Mr. R. H. Coats, each volume varies from its predecessor by omitting certain tables, that need not be repeated annually, and substituting other tables equally important. The *Year Book* has been improved in more recent years by including descriptive and explanatory summaries. The importance of this step can scarcely be exaggerated. It has not, however, been carried as far as it might be. Indeed the writer is inclined to the belief that the Census Office should invite students and writers on Canadian statistics to publish the results of their studies in the *Year Book*. Few Canadian students will doubt the value of careful statistical studies. The dearth of them is due for the most part to the practical impossibility of finding a medium of publication. Perhaps the time is ripe for the publication of a quarterly or monthly statistical journal by the Census Office. Among the

special features of the *Year Book* of 1915 is a collection of articles on "Local Government in Canada". Doubtless there has been some misunderstanding about the precise character of the articles required of the various writers on the subject, and it is a question whether it would not have been wiser to have assigned the whole subject to one writer who would have been able to treat it in more organic fashion. This brief and fairly accurate statement on a much neglected subject is however quite welcome. Let no one make the mistake of thinking that each old volume of the *Canada Year Book* is rendered useless by its successor, for the number of special articles and the variation of the statistical contents from year to year have made each volume of permanent value.

Commission of Conservation: Report of the Seventh Annual Meeting. Montreal: The Federated Press, 1916. Pp. x, 284.

If it were necessary to convince any doubter of the necessity for a Commission of Conservation, perhaps the easiest way would be to ask him to read the facts and figures of fire-waste in Canada contained in Appendix III of the volume before us. We are told that the fire loss of Canada, exclusive of the incalculable loss caused by forest conflagrations, amounts to $23,000,000 per annum. Companion tables are given showing the toll of fire in Canadian and European cities respectively. In Canada the per caput loss through fire in 1914 varied from $2.20 in Edmonton to $12.07 in Saskatoon. For the same year in Europe no case is given in which the per caput loss reached $1.00, the range being from four cents in Lancaster to ninety-three cents in Bolton. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that a large portion of the present Report is concerned with the question of fire prevention, especially as the consensus of expert opinion goes to show that it is within our power to prevent a great deal of this waste. The Secretary of the National Fire Protection Association of America declares that the difficulty of prevention is "largely psychological". Another

speaker at the meeting classified the factors on which the loss by fire depends as "physical hazard, moral hazard, and temperamental hazard"; and to the last mentioned, i.e. "the state of mind which condones carelessness", "the immense number of fires in Canada can undoubtedly be ascribed". In this connection the address by J. B. Harkin on "Fire Protection in Dominion Parks" is full of interest, as it describes and illustrates the methods for preventing and for fighting fire which (with a considerable measure of success) have been adopted in the parks. There are, in all, four papers in the volume dealing with aspects of protection from fire, and it is clear that the Commission is alive to the necessity of drastic measures. Already, as the Chairman pointed out at the meeting, the Commission has done good work in protecting forests along the railway lines, but much remains to be done. One hopes that the recommendations of the Commission in this matter will meet with the necessary support, public and governmental, to ensure action at this time when the conservation of the resources of Canada has become so vital a concern.

It is to the whole problem of forest conservation, of which protection from fire is but one aspect, that the work of the Commission has been specially directed, and the present volume contains further valuable contributions in the Report of the Committee on Forests presented by Clyde Leavitt and in the paper on "Silvicultural Problems on Forest Reserves" read by Dr. Fernow. The latter brings forward various practical suggestions for dealing with forestry problems. One interesting suggestion which Dr. Fernow makes is that the peaty muskegs need not be regarded as mere waste land. "The problem of the proper use of these extensive peat bogs is one that should early occupy the attention both of the Forestry Branch and the Agricultural Department, for there is hidden in them a great resource that it has so far not been given to us to fully realize".

Other papers deal with the conservation of fisheries, with the protection of birds, game, and fur-bearing animals

against methods which threaten extinction, with water-power problems, with the conservation and utilization of mineral resources, with questions of land development and town-planning. It would be a very good thing if the public knew the immense importance of these subjects, and one means of securing this would be the wider distribution of this valuable Report. The information and experience acquired by the Commission might also be employed to save us from ill guided experiments, for example in the planting of settlements such as are now being widely advocated for the returned soldiers.

The Railway Builders, a Chronicle of overland highways. By Oscar D. Skelton. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916. Pp. viii, 254.

The Canadian Pacific Railway. By Frederick A. Talbot. London: A. & C. Black, 1915. Pp. 96.

The Story of the Canadian Pacific Railway. By Keith Morris. London: William Stevens, 1916. Pp. 154.

Professor Skelton contributes to the Chronicles of Canada a timely history of Canadian railway-making, from the building of the Champlain and St. Lawrence line down to the present day. As the author remarks, there are surprisingly few books available on Canadian railway history. Yet the story is not only of great interest in itself but also of great importance for the understanding of the whole social and economic development of Canada. Dr. Skelton is well able to fit the story of actual railway building into the historical background of national aspiration, economic pressure, and political intrigue. As was rendered inevitable by the limitations of the series, his account is little more than a sketch, but it is admirably concise, accurate, and selective. It is intended for the general reader and therefore we cannot ask from it a discussion of the more difficult and debatable questions of Canadian railway policy, though it is greatly to be hoped that an economist of Dr. Skelton's

standing will some day give us a treatise on Canadian railways comparable in breadth and discernment to, say, Ripley's work on American railways. But the "general reader" cannot look for a better historical introduction to the subject than that which Dr. Skelton provides. The book has for frontispiece an effective reproduction of a colour drawing by Mr. C. W. Jefferys and contains some well-chosen illustrations and useful explanatory maps, though these are not so detailed as one might wish.

The other two little books are also of a popular character. The former is pretty accurately described by the title of the series to which it belongs, it is a "peep" at a great railway, a simple and picturesque description of the line and the more obviously interesting features of the country through which it passes. Its whole function is to give the non-Canadian reader a first impression of the Canadian Pacific, an impression aided by a number of small sketches and coloured illustrations. Some of the latter, such as that of Thunder Bay, are very successful.

The third book noted above is a highly journalistic account of the making of the railway, almost epic in its description of difficulties surmounted and battles won. Perhaps some of the heroes would scarcely recognize themselves in their poetic investiture. For example, one remembers the absence of ceremony and éclat which attended the driving in of the last spike in the Eagle Pass. "Had it not been", says Professor Skelton, "that Donald A. Smith happened along in time to drive the spike home, it would have been hammered in by the navvy on the job". But Mr. Morris will have none of this. "In the story of nations there are episodes which shine, resplendent, pre-eminent, as planets in the starry heavens. Of such is the ceremony of the driving of the last spike in the Canadian Pacific Railway" —and so on. It is scarcely necessary to add that one finds in this history but a meagre account of that inner drama of intrigue and opposition, daring conception and drastic expedient, selfish ambition and ardent patriotism which

attended the construction of the great road. That story still awaits its historian.

Sir C. Rivers Wilson's *Chapters from my Official Life* (London: Edward Arnold, 1916; pp. xv, 310), edited by Everilda MacAlister, might have thrown some light on Canadian railway questions, for he was President of the Grand Trunk Railway from 1895 to 1909. The Memoirs, however, do not go much deeper than the observation of a passing traveller. Sir C. Rivers Wilson complains that the influence of the Canadian Pacific Railway was too dominant in Winnipeg, but his relations with that great corporation were apparently quite friendly. There is nothing in the brief chapter on the Grand Trunk that requires comment.

"The Canadian state railways are an utter financial failure". This is the indictment which Mr. Samuel O. Dunn brings in *The Failure of Government Ownership in Canada* (*Journal of Political Economy*, June 1916, pp. 547-571). He arrives at the startling conclusion that the Intercolonial and Prince Edward Island railways have inflicted on the taxpayers of Canada a total loss of $154,378 per mile, this being the difference between the present value on a liberal computation and the total cost per mile. Of the total loss not more than one-third can in his view be attributed to excessively low rates, the rest being laid at the door of uneconomical management. The reasoning which supports these conclusions is clear and well supported by statistical evidence. Mr. Dunn's object is to draw from Canadian experience an argument against the adoption of government ownership in the United States. The argument is necessarily inconclusive, since the history of the corporation-controlled railways of the United States, with its flagrant instances of mismanagement and financial piracy, could be made to present a case even more startling against private ownership. Need we indeed cross the line to find evidence of this kind? Another qualifying fact, ignored by Mr. Dunn, is that the Canadian government railways are badly situated

for through traffic, and operate in territory much of which is of an unpromising nature, the lines being drawn according to political or national rather than economic considerations. These considerations certainly cannot serve to justify or even excuse the actual management of the Intercolonial, but if the choice really lies between the devil and the deep sea it is inconclusive to prove either that the devil is black or that the sea is deep.

The English section of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada dated June 1916 contains two articles of considerable economic significance. The first is the Presidential Address by Dr. Adam Shortt (ser. iii, vol. x, sect. ii, pp. 65-74) on *The Economic effect of war*—not *the* war—*upon Canada*. Beginning with some interesting reflections on the dependence of early Canadian prosperity on the violation of the Navigation Laws, Dr. Shortt traces briefly the influence of the successive wars in Europe and America on the economic life of Canada. It is noteworthy that such periods of Canadian prosperity as depended on the artificial stimulus of war, such as occurred after the outbreak of the war in 1812 and again during the American civil war—when Canadian wheat soared to two dollars and fifty cents the bushel—were succeeded by severe reactions. Dr. Shortt refrains, however, from making any prediction as to the after effects of the present war, regarding the subject as too large and uncertain to be discussed within the limits of his address. To the same issue (pp. 93-117) the late Dr. C. C. James contributed an account of *An Historical war crop—the Canadian wheat crop of 1915*, when the grain yield exceeded by perhaps 150,000,000 bushels that of any previous year. Dr. James in this article enters into the question of the relative contribution of nature and man to this remarkable result, and brings evidence to show that nature alone, i.e., the unusually favourable weather conditions, does not deserve all the credit. The Department of Agriculture appealed widely for increased production, more thorough cultivation, and greater care in the selection of seed. And that this "Patriotism and Production" appeal

was effective is shown by the fact that the acreage in cultivation in 1915 showed an increase over the preceding year of twenty per cent. The late Commissioner of Agriculture was a great believer in the need of more science in our agriculture, and the experience of 1915 confirms his view.

The Co-operative Store in Canada, by H. Michell (Queen's Quarterly vol. xxiii, pp. 317-338), and *The Country Elevator in the Canadian West*, by W. C. Clark (Ibid. vol. xxiv, pp. 46-68), are two useful additions to the short studies issued from Queen's University. The former is a review of the various experiments in the co-operative store within Canada. The movement has never flourished in Canada, and the meagre record is mainly one of failures. But the writer of this paper, in the same breath in which he admits that it is very difficult to give a definite opinion as to the future of the movement in Canada, declares that the prospect is "very hopeful indeed". The second is an instructive and well written account of the so-called "country" elevator and of the remarkable development of co-operative enterprise and government regulation which resulted from the opposition to its methods. "The western grain trade is . . . more subject to government regulation than the grain trade of any other country in the world", and yet "in no other country of the world have the grain growers done so much to solve their own problems as in our Canadian west".

"The Woman—Bless Her." Not as amiable a book as it sounds. By Marjory MacMurchy. Toronto: S. B. Gundy [1916]. Pp. 155.

This little book is an interesting venture into a hitherto uncharted sea—it is an attempt to estimate the economic and social contribution of Canadian women to national life, more especially in relation to war work and reconstruction. The first and last chapters deal with women's organizations and women's part in the war; the intermediate chapters describe the business woman, the college woman, the country woman and the woman at home. The purpose of the book,

as stated by the publisher, is "to point women towards the proper recognition of their work in war and reconstruction". As the whole volume contains only 155 pages of large type with liberal margins, it is obvious that the writer can do no more than suggest lines of thought, and state problems, leaving the reader (or possibly a supplementary volume?) to supply data and wrestle with solutions. One cannot deal exhaustively with the problems of half a nation in such a volume as this.

The study of the voluntary organizations of women, in which Canada and the United States of America have been so peculiarly prolific, is of great interest, more especially at this moment when the enfranchisement of Canadian women in five provinces has marked an epoch in political and social development. In the light of this extension of the political power of women, their voluntary organizations will be subjected to a severe test by public opinion; only those will survive which serve some purpose not to be attained by the exercise of the franchise. Obviously, the mission boards will continue to be necessary; though it seems impossible that the Churches will, for long, lag behind the political development of the nation by denying to women a voice in their councils. The management of these national mission boards requires, as Miss MacMurchy rightly insists, a very high degree of statesmanship, and this might with advantage be applied to the general policy of the Churches.

Perhaps the greatest problem which confronts the voluntary organizations of women in Canada is that of combining democracy with efficiency. To say that they have not been uniformly successful in effecting this combination is but to convict them of failure in solving a problem which at this moment is taxing the best minds of the nation and Empire. The efficiency of women's organizations, as compared with those of men, is partly conditioned by the extreme difficulty of financing them out of the paltry sums received in fees; a dollar a year is the subscription that the average woman expects to be called upon to pay. It is all that many are able to spare from the house-keeping allowance which is

the only money under their control. We fancy that this "moneylessness" of women provides the true answer to the question which underlies a good many pages of this book—why are not women, in societies or in home-making, more efficient? In Canada, women have had hitherto no control of public funds; they have had little opportunity for exhibiting what powers they may possess in social experiments, far less in social inquiry and research. This is work which demands, for success, both adequate resources and official backing. Canadian women have had neither. In Great Britain women have long ago been given a share in the services rendered by "recognized" voluntary effort, as well as in paid official positions. They have been members and officers of county and city councils and school-boards; officials under poor laws and health boards; they have sat upon royal commissions. While they have not had the political franchise, they have held positions of national importance, and have been able to carry on these appointed tasks without the necessity of turning all their deliberations into a standing committee on ways and means. Miss MacMurchy hardly seems to recognize the financial disabilities of women's organizations, nor the political and civic disabilities which, up till the present time, have prevented Canadian women from carrying on sociological research or economic experiments or even from controlling the education of their own children. Ten years from now, Canadian women should have had time to make their power felt in civic and political affairs, and might finally be condemned as inefficient and unstatesmanlike if they have not by that time used their influence for the solution of problems of the home, the school, and the office.

Miss MacMurchy's classification of women is not strictly logical; for the country girl, happily, often becomes "the college woman" and returns to the country again as wife, or teacher; nor can the "country woman" be distinguished from the "woman at home". Indeed, one of the great difficulties in the education of girls, both in school and college, is the necessity of educating them for two

professions—as the prospective teacher or business woman and also as the potential wife and mother; while the boy beside them in class can fulfil his economic duties to the home through his chosen profession. Hence, even in co-educational establishments, rises the tendency to vary the curriculum according to sex; and the frequent over-loading of a girl's time-table. We notice a curious slip in regard to the university women of Great Britain. Miss MacMurchy speaks of them as being "educated in women's colleges", in contradistinction to the Canadian college woman who "is educated with men and by men". Miss MacMurchy's description describes a few colleges of the type of Holloway College; but is, of course, quite misleading as applied to women students at Cambridge or Oxford where women attend lectures and are examined "with men and by men"; or to the women students at the great modern co-educational universities of the Midlands or Wales.

While we have not hesitated to criticize, we do not hesitate to recommend this little book, which provides food for thought and discussion as to the evolution of women's organizations and the more important subject of the forces determining the development of Canadian womanhood.

The Location and Survey of the Northern International Boundary Line. By Ethel J. May. (Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Volume iv, pp. 179-234.)

Miss May has divided her discussion of the Canada and United States boundary into (1) the Eastern division, the portion between the Atlantic and Lake of the Woods, (2) the Central, between Lake of the Woods and the summit of the Rockies, (3) the Western, from the Rockies to the Pacific.

The Eastern division receives very superficial notice and might be ignored were it not for the errors of statement. Article IV of the Treaty of Ghent did not specify "to which country" (p. 130) certain islands in Passamaquoddy Bay belonged but provided for a reference to two commissioners

to examine and decide upon the respective claims. The decision of the King of the Netherlands (p. 180) was accepted by Great Britain but was rejected by the United States. As Champlain entered the St. John river in 1604, it is not accurate to state that, in the nineteenth century, British commissioners "discovered" (p. 181) that it flowed into the Bay of Fundy. The Ashburton Treaty did not determine the Oregon boundary because the negotiators could not come to an agreement, which action cannot be accurately described as "ignoring" (p. 181) it.

The Central division of the boundary line includes the northern boundary of North Dakota and, therefore, receives more detailed treatment than the Eastern or Western.

The discussion of the limits of Louisiana and of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories demonstrates that the author is not aware that a charter or grant is only operative as against the subjects of the power granting it. To make it operative as against other powers, occupation, more or less effective, or some acknowledgment by other powers is necessary. Defining the theoretical boundaries of Louisiana or Hudson's Bay only requires a map and a pencil but defining them as affected by adverse occupation, etc., is a purely arbitrary proceeding in which each and every student of international differences can indulge. It is also an exercise that will probably have as many differing results as there are students.

The only clearly defined portion of the southern boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company's grant is that lying between Manitoba and Hudson Bay. Here, the Imperial Privy Council, in the Ontario-Manitoba Boundary case, adopted the Albany and English rivers as the limit.

On page 183, it is stated that "the question of how the 49th parallel first came to be designated" as the boundary between the English and French possessions "is not yet known". On the same page Mr. Haswell is quoted as saying that "there is no evidence . . . of the appointment of a boundary commission under the Treaty of Utrecht". The genesis and history of the 49th parallel line are well

known. Bladen and Pulteney were appointed, Sept. 3, 1719, as commissioners under the Treaty of Utrecht and carried on negotiations with the French commissioners.

There are numerous errors of statement and of inference. Major Long did not "survey" the boundary (p. 187). He merely determined the position of the line near the Red river. The survey made by David Thompson and his American colleague was not a "hasty" survey (p. 187) but was detailed and fairly accurate. The "survey of 1856" (p. 187) was made in 1858-60 and did not affect "this region" as it included only the boundary between the Pacific and the Rockies.

Miss May suggests that, as the due south line from the "North-west Angle" intersects the mid-channel line through Northwest Angle Bay, "a special commission may be necessary to settle" this portion of the line. In the first place the mid-channel line was fixed in 1826 by the commission appointed under Article VII of the Treaty of Ghent and Canada had, therefore, acquired a title by prescription long prior to 1871, and, secondly, it is improbable that either Canada or the United States will waste money on a commission respecting the ownership of 23 acres of swamp almost impassable except when frozen.

The ratification of the treaty of December 31, 1806 (not 1807), was not "prevented" as set forth on page 201. It was not submitted to the United States Senate because it did not contain a renunciation by Great Britain of the right of impressment.

"Naming" the Columbia river (p. 201) neither strengthened nor weakened the United States' claim to Oregon territory. The "determination of Great Britain to secure at least a joint ownership of the mouth of the Columbia" (p. 202) is "accounted for" by the fact that she had a good title to all the territory north of the Columbia and to a large, but undefined, area south of it. Spain had not "confirmed" (p. 202) her own claims to the Pacific coast by the Nootka treaty but had thereby acknowledged the validity of the British claims.

Great Britain did "claim sovereignty" over the region (p. 205) but did not claim exclusive sovereignty. Meares did not recognize that the estuary of the Columbia was the mouth of a river but thought that it was a bay. Contending that he, therefore, did not "discover" the Columbia (p. 205) is splitting hairs. In any event, in 1775, a Spaniard, Heceta, discovered it, anticipating Meares by thirteen years and Gray by seventeen years.

Lewis and Clark explored part of the Clark and Snake branches of the Columbia and three hundred miles of the main stream between Snake river and the Pacific. They, therefore, did not explore it "from its sources to its mouth (p. 202)". David Thompson of the North West Company made the first exploration of the main Columbia from its source to the point at which Lewis and Clark first sighted it —at the mouth of Snake river. In 1807, Thompson established Kootanae House, the first trading post on the Columbia, antedating the first American post by three years. When Astoria was established, the North West Company had four posts south of latitude 49° and had been trading with the Kootenais and Flatheads for four years.

The journal of J. E. Bangs, Secretary to the American Boundary Commission, 1873, published as an appendix, does not contain any information of value.

Apparently Miss May never heard of the work of Dr. John Bassett Moore, of Prof. W. F. Ganong, of Mr. James White or of other students of the boundary differences between Canada and the United States. Except Greenhow and the official reports of the Boundary Commission, Lake of the Woods to the Rockies, she has relied upon secondary and tertiary authorities. Greenhow's work, while a comprehensive review of the Oregon question, contains deliberate mis-statements that could almost be designated mendacious.

The Last Voyage of the Karluk, flagship of Vilhjalmar Stefansson's Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-16, as related by her Master, Robert A. Bartlett, and here set down by Ralph T. Hale. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1916. Pp. 330.

The roll of Arctic catastrophes is not yet complete. Modern science and western organization were unable to save Scott and his heroic South Polar party even from scurvy and starvation, and the crushing power of polar ice is a standing menace not likely to be removed by any ingenuity of man. The *Karluk* succumbed to it, as other ships have done. Out of a crew of twenty white men, only nine returned again to their homes and civilization. Eight white men and two Eskimos were lost in the attempt to reach Wrangell Island from the ice-floe seventy or eighty miles away, where the *Karluk* sank. Three died on Wrangell Island while awaiting a rescue. With the ship went down all the written memoranda and scientific material accumulated during the four months' drift of the vessel.

Captain Bartlett, who dictated the narrative, was Peary's companion on his last and successful attempt to reach the North Pole. He is a native of Newfoundland, and accustomed from boyhood to navigation among ice-bergs and ice-floes. That he had been master of Peary's ship and selected to accompany Peary on his final dash for the Pole shows him to be an experienced and resourceful Arctic traveller. The reputation already acquired can only be enhanced by this book. He seems to have been an able leader, always ready to take more than his share of toil and danger. His dispositions in preparation for an eventual destruction of the ship were complete, and the unfortunate losses of half his party were not due to any want of foresight on his part. As a narrator he has a brisk and cheerful manner and gives a vivid and detailed account of all events of the voyage.

The winter of 1913-14 began early in the north. On August 13 the *Karluk* had reached a point about 225 miles from Point Barrow and less than 125 miles from Herschel Island where they hoped to winter. But the next day the ice closed about the ship and she was never free of it again. The drift was steadily westward. On September 20 they were off the mouth of Colville river, and Stefansson with three other white men and two Eskimos left the ship to

hunt for food along the shore. While this party was away a storm came up which drove far away to the north and east the ice-field in which the ship was fast. Stefansson and his companions saw that they had no chance of gaining the ship again and easily made their way along the shore to Herschel Island. In the evening of January 11, 1914, an ice-jam crushed in the timbers of the *Karluk*, and the water began to pour into the engine-room. Fortunately, ample preparations had been made for this very contingency. Supplies of all kinds had been removed from the ship and piled on the big ice-floe, and the remaining emergency supplies were taken from the doomed vessel in less than an hour. But the ship being held by the ice did not sink until the next afternoon when the ice opened and let her down.

The position of the ship when she sank was about 70 miles north-east of Wrangell Island. Ten days earlier land had been dimly seen to the south, no doubt Herald Island, a lofty and very inaccessible island to the east of Wrangell Island. Captain Bartlett decided that as soon as the daylight improved the whole party should proceed to the point where they believed lay Wrangell Island. But for six weeks the camp on the ice-floe was maintained, the last party leaving it on February 24. It was during this period that the greatest loss of life occurred. On January 20 an advance party was sent out to make their way to land, consisting of the first and second mates and two seamen. Nothing was ever seen of them again. Captain Bartlett gives no reason for sending out this party, but the brief official narrative contained in the *Report of the Department of Naval Service* (Ottawa, 1915) says, "Some of the members, however, chafed under the inaction and expressed a strong desire to proceed to land". On February 1, another party of four left the camp. They were not sent out by the commander as the previous party had been, but asked and obtained his permission to make their way to land according to their own methods. Captain Bartlett advised them to wait for the rest of the party but gave them leave to do as they thought best. He also furnished them with a sledge and supplies.

They on their part gave him a written document absolving him of all responsibility for their actions. This party of four was likewise lost. Captain Bartlett in his narrative says very little about the motives of this party in deliberately dissociating themselves from their companions. The official narrative says nothing at all. But it is evident that matters were not going smoothly and harmoniously at the camp. Captain Bartlett must have had something very like mutiny on his hands. The first party to leave him, ostensibly under his directions, consisted of the two officers next in command to himself and two of his sailors. The second party, which avowedly left against his wishes and advice, consisted of the ship's doctor, two of the scientists attached to the expedition, and a young sailor to whom Bartlett gave leave, he says, because he thought it would be useful for the party to have him with them. That the doctor should have left his ship's company, against the wishes if not against the orders of the captain, is of itself so unusual and so improper a proceeding that no other evidence is needed of a state of things at the camp on the ice-floe that must have bordered on mutiny. The doctor, as well as his educated companions and the young sailor, paid for the abandonment of his post with his life.

The rest of the story is mainly Captain Bartlett's own personal experiences. With an Eskimo as his only companion, he crossed on the ice-floes from Wrangell Island to the Siberian coast, a distance as the crow flies of perhaps one hundred miles. But it took seventeen days of laborious exertion, and he estimates that, allowing for the devious track they had to take in order to avoid hummocky ice or open lanes of water, they must have travelled two hundred miles. When they were once on shore, the journey, though arduous enough, was comparatively free from actual danger. They came across many encampments, more or less permanent, of the native Chukches. These cousins of the Eskimos received them everywhere with hospitable kindness. Unhappily for themselves their houses are stifling and unventilated dens, and the whole race is a prey to tuberculosis.

Russian traders were also met with as Bartlett and his companion journeyed east along the coast, and finally at East Cape they came in touch with organized civilization again in the person of Baron Kleist, the Russian governor or supervisor of Northeastern Siberia. But much remained to be done. The Canadian government at Ottawa had to be apprised by wireless of the fate of the expedition and vessels must be chartered to proceed as soon as summer arrived to rescue the survivors on Wrangell Island. This was successfully accomplished early in September; although three of the shipwrecked party had died of illness since Bartlett had left them in March.

There can be no difference of opinion as to the interest of Captain Bartlett's story. It is a record of courage, endurance, and resourcefulness that deserves a place beside all the other great narratives of suffering in the cause of Arctic exploration. The scientific result of the expedition was practically *nil*. All the records and specimens went down with the ship. Of the scientific members of the expedition only one survived, besides those who, with Stefansson himself, had left the ship before the westerly drift had really begun.

The pages of the *Summary Report of the Geological Survey for 1915* (Ottawa: Department of Mines, 1916) contain the official report of Mr. R. M. Anderson on the systematic exploration carried on by the members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition who either left the *Karluk* before she began her westerly drift in the ice or who had been conveyed in the other vessels of the expedition to their base at Herschel Island. Little by little the coasts of the mainland and of the adjoining Arctic islands are being topographically surveyed and mapped. Notes on the geology and biology of the country are also made by competent observers. The Canadian government has undertaken a very necessary work and continuity of effort is assured in a way that would hardly be possible under any other auspices. In course of time we may hope that a comprehensive publication will be

issued that will describe and elucidate the geography of the whole of the Arctic area under Canadian rule.

In the *Hydrographic Annual* for the year 1913 (London, 1914) are two papers that should have been noticed in a previous volume. One of them, *An Historical Sketch of the Exploration and Survey of the Waters of British Columbia*, by Captain J. F. Parry (pp. 6-10), is an excellent summary brought down to the conclusion of Vancouver's survey and accompanied by a facsimile of Vancouver's chart. The author points out how greatly Vancouver's work was aided by the Spanish discoveries and surveys carried on almost simultaneously with his own, and how ready he was to give credit to the Spanish seamen for what they had accomplished. In the chart issued with Vancouver's book, he is careful to indicate the portions of the coast-line that he had taken from the charts obtained from his Spanish rivals. Captain Parry gives credit to the story of Apostolos Valerianos *alias* Juan de Fuca and his supposed discovery in 1592 of the Strait that now bears his name, but this is more than doubtful. The narrative by Michael Lok of Fuca's exploit is decidedly mythical and there is no other evidence that Juan de Fuca ever existed. The second paper, *An Historical Sketch of H. M. Newfoundland Survey, 1714-1912*, by Lieutenant J. A. Rupert-Jones (pp. 11-18), is an equally succinct and accurate account of the surveys of the Newfoundland coast by officers of the Royal Navy from their beginnings. The most important figure is undoubtedly Captain Cook. As the author says, "it was as chief of the Newfoundland Survey that Captain Cook laid the foundations of modern hydrographic surveying". The first survey of the Newfoundland coast was completed by 1825, Cook himself having covered 600 miles of it. Various surrounding waters were surveyed between 1826 and 1865, and redeterminations of many positions were carried out. In 1865 the Admiralty resolved on a thorough re-survey of the island coasts, and this was completed in 1912. The occasion of both papers is the withdrawal of the Hydrographic branch of the naval

service from both British Columbia and Newfoundland. Any new surveys that have to be made must be undertaken by the local governments.

In the *Geographical Journal* (vol. xlviii, pp. 249-257) Mr. Charles Camsell gives a brief statement of *The Unexplored areas of continental Canada*. An estimate by Dr. George Dawson in 1890 placed the total area at 1,000,000 square miles, of which 600,000 lay in western Canada. Mr. Camsell has recently made a revision of this estimate and arrives at a total of 900,000 square miles. He has, however, varied the data somewhat. Dr. Dawson assumed that an explorer learned something of the country through which he travelled to a depth of 25 miles on either side of his route. Mr. Camsell considers this excessive and reduces it to 15 miles. In this way the area considered by Dr. Dawson to have been "explored" has been reduced by Mr. Camsell. The largest unexplored tracts are in the northern part of Quebec, which was formerly called the Ungava District, and in the Barren Grounds territory, which lies east of the great waters of Athabaska, Great Slave and Great Bear lakes, and stretches north to the Arctic ocean. But there are also considerable areas in northern British Columbia and the Yukon District of which nothing is known.

Mr. Charles Camsell's *Exploration of the Tazin and Taltson rivers, Northwest Territories* (Canada: Department of Mines: Geological Survey, Memoir 84. Ottawa, 1916; pp. 124) is an account of a canoe journey during the summer of 1914 from Lake Athabaska to Great Slave Lake by way of the rivers named. The country traversed had not been seen by a civilized man since Samuel Hearne traversed the same region in his curious wanderings with a band of Chipewyan Indians in 1771-2. The reason for this neglect, although the travelled route of the Mackenzie river basin is not far off to the west, lies in the fact that there is nothing to attract a visitor, however adventurous. Canada contains many such unexplored blocks of country. This

one is about 53,000 square miles in area. It is part of the Laurentian plateau, rocky and broken country, without any important elevations, abounding in small lakes and streams. There are plenty of fish in the waters and mosquitoes on the land and in the air. There may be economic minerals, but Mr. Camsell is cautious in admitting even the possibility. As his exploration consisted merely in navigating a river route from south to north of the region, it cannot be said that we know much about it yet. But his report will be a basis for further and more detailed explorations.

Mr. Frederick J. Alcock writes on *The Churchill River* in the *Geographical Review* (vol. ii, pp. 433-448). The early use of the lower Churchill as a highway from Hudson Bay to the interior was discontinued about 1821 in favour of the Nelson river and its chief affluent the Saskatchewan, along which the difficulties of navigation in the way of rapids are not so great. It was at the mouth of Churchill river that Fort Prince of Wales was built for the Hudson's Bay Company between 1736 and 1771. It was an imposing structure of prodigious strength, the walls being 42 feet in thickness, and it mounted 40 guns, ranging from six to twenty-four pounders. And yet Hearne surrendered it in 1772 to La Pérouse without firing a shot in its defence. The historical associations of the Churchill river are interestingly related.

Mr. J. B. Tyrrell delivered his Presidential address to the Fourth Section of the Royal Society of Canada in 1916 in the form of *Notes on the Geology of Nelson and Hayes Rivers* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series iii, vol. x, sect. iv, pp. 1-27). He begins with a short historical summary of visits and occupations of the mouth of the river Nelson from the discovery in 1612 down to the erection of the present York Factory in 1792. Comparison of the plan of the surroundings of old York Fort as made from surveys by Robson in 1745 with a similar plan made by Mr. Tyrrell himself in 1912 shows how the river has eaten away its left bank, contrary to the general physio-

graphic law that in the northern hemisphere it is the right bank which rivers tend to erode. The character of the bank and the velocity and direction of the current no doubt explain the apparent anomaly.

Mr. M. P. Bridgland describes the method employed for *Photographic Surveying in Canada* (*Geographical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 19-27). The method is applicable chiefly to broken country, particularly to such a mountainous mass as British Columbia and western Alberta. Ordinary surveying is almost impossible in such regions. Therefore, in 1886, the Surveyor General of Canada, Dr. E. Deville, adopted the photographic method, which had already been used by German surveyors. During the last thirty years more than 30,000 miles of Canadian mountains have been surveyed and mapped in this way.

Mr. Charles E. Fay reviews *Recent Mountaineering in the Canadian Alps* in the *Geographical Review* (vol. ii, pp. 1-18). He shows how the efforts of Alpinists have in the last few years been directed mainly to explorations and ascents in the more northern part of the high Rockies, where stands Mount Robson, the highest peak (so far as known) of the Canadian range. The Selkirks also have come in for a larger share of attention, although they will always be less sought than the Rocky mountains because of the greater inaccessibility of their highest summits. Most of the climbers whose exploits are mentioned are Americans, although the work of the Canadian Alpine Club in popularizing this form of sport among Canadians is fully recognized.

Professor A. P. Coleman writes an account of *Glaciers of the Rockies and Selkirks* (pp. 29) as a handbook issued by the Department of the Interior. The principal scientific facts about glaciers are clearly put, and some description is given of a few of the chief Canadian glaciers accessible to

the tourist from the lines of railway. There are excellent illustrations from photographs.

The *Bulletin* of the Société de Géographie de Québec (Quebec, 1916) contains an interesting contribution by M. Benjamin Sulte entitled *Dollard au Long-Sault*, which is mainly a collection of the various source narratives of the heroic defence maintained by Dollard and his companions at the Long Sault against the overwhelming forces of Iroquois. The Abbé de Belmont, the Jesuit *Relation* of 1660, Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, and Dollier de Casson have each left an account, and these supplement one another in the details. M. Sulte's short paper in the January-February number, *Vieux Papiers*, is a protest against the haste and ignorance with which old documents are too often copied and published. Errors of spelling, of identification, of date, are thus enshrined in print, and the publication becomes a stumbling-block instead of an aid to the historical student. After much confusion some scholar of the type of M. Sulte himself undertakes the laborious task of comparing the printed document with the original and the true value of the former is thus revealed. As examples of what he means, M. Sulte instances *Edits et Ordonnances*, published in 1852, which, he says, "sont criblés d'erreurs de tous genres". The same veteran author has a short paper, *Causes de la guerre de 1812*, in which he asserts that President Madison and Napoleon evidently had a private understanding according to which the former's declaration of war on England coincided with the latter's declaration of war on Russia. It would be interesting to know whether M. Sulte has any foundation for this statement other than the coincidence of date in the declarations of war and Madison's known admiration for Napoleon. M. H. Simard has a very interesting paper on *Les Seigneuries du district de Saguenay*, in which he describes the present condition of these seigniories and of their inhabitants as well as their history. The inhabitants are not all well instructed as the following story shows. The Seminary of Quebec is the proprietor of one of the seigniories,

and, during the winter of 1915-16, the Procureur of the Seminary was urging a well-to-do *censitaire* to commute his annual rent by a lump sum as he is entitled by law to do. "Non", was the reply, "je garde mon argent. Les Allemands vont venir bientôt et nous débarrasser de tout cela". Another interesting paper is that by Mr. James Lawler, entitled *Aperçu historique sur l'exploitation des forêts au Canada.* The main efforts of the settlers under the French rule were to get rid of the forests, excepting oak trees which were valuable for ship-building for the navy. It was under the first British Governor, Murray, that the policy of maintaining a forest reserve was enunciated. Unfortunately these wise instructions were soon ignored and forgotten, and it is only within the present generation that Canada has realized that her forests are neither "boundless" nor "inexhaustible". The final number of the Bulletin is an index for the four-year period, 1913-1916.

V. ARCHAEOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

The Myths of the North American Indians. By Lewis Spence. London: George G. Harrap & Company, 1914. Pp. xii, 393.

The Mythology of All Races. Vol. x: *North American.* By Hartley Burr Alexander. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1916. Pp. 325.

Thirty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1909-1910. Washington, 1916. Pp. 1,037.

Huron and Wyandot Mythology. By C. M. Barbeau. (Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 80, No. 11, Anthropological series.) Ottawa, 1915. Pp. 437.

The Constitution of the Five Nations. By Arthur C. Parker. (New York State Museum, Publication No. 184.) Albany, N.Y., 1916. Pp. 158.

The continued increase of literature on myths and legends, in comparison with monographs on other more substantial features of the life of North American aborigines, reminds us that Indians of the primitive types are fast becoming only a memory. This is especially evident because the mythology of a people is the literary and scientific treatment of their traditional knowledge of former individuals and events. When the persons and events have passed away and are beyond the reach of direct observation, this literary product becomes the only possible form of knowledge about them. But at best it is only working as it were at a literary scrap-heap. Thus, for the Indians of former centuries, i.e., the primitive Indians, it is almost only in their mythology that anthropologists can now find new ground; and it is doubtful whether it is worth while to work so energetically at the mythological scrap-heap.

We are brought forcibly to realize the significance of this state of affairs in the fact that of the 2,775 pages of

anthropological literature that came before us during the past year, no less than 2,345 pages, or four-fifths of the whole, deal with myths and legends. The first to demand our attention and a representative of this class, is a recent compilation written in quite readable English by Lewis Spence, giving a survey of the myths of the North American Indians. It is a general treatise on this subject, and endeavours to be comprehensive in its scope—one of many such attempts since Dr. Brinton wrote and first issued his *Myths of the New World* in 1868. Typographically, the book is well made, and it is uniform in a series with seven others on myths of various countries. For the most part it shows good sense in the treatment of extravagant theories which are painfully numerous in this subject, and it has a skilful rendering of the stories. The first two chapters are introductory and have special interest, the opening one being a general sketch of the divisions, customs and history of the North American aborigines, beginning with the first Indians seen in Europe in the train of Columbus. Quotations make up one half of this chapter; the other half is compilation. The extracts are well selected, being taken from Schoolcraft, Brinton, Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and others. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of limitation under which the author compelled himself to work, this chapter is a fair production. In a summary containing such a multitude of facts as the subject presents, it is a wonder there are not more mistakes than there are; he culled the salient points of the subject. At the end of this first chapter, the section on "Modern Education and Culture" deal only with efforts in the United States, and no reference is made to the efforts in Canada in this direction, which have surely been worthy of mention. In fact, throughout the entire book Canadian writers are sparingly represented, while a hundred writers of the United States are laid under contribution. In regard to Indian conditions of the present day, the very complete Annual Reports on Canadian Indian Affairs might have furnished the author with valuable material for this section. The

writings of such investigators as Chamberlain, Boyle, Morice, Hill-Tout, not to mention the more recent writers at the Ottawa Bureau, are entirely ignored. This omission is conspicuous inasmuch as the author takes as his types for treatment only the myths and legends of Algonquins, Iroquois, Sioux, Pawnees and the northern and northwestern tribes, most of which are in Canada or associated more or less intimately with the border territories. The subject matter of Chapter II is general and opens with accounts of "animism" and "totemism" in which the author defines what he means by these terms and offers his explanations of the origins of the two beliefs. He makes a specialty of sun and nature myths and explains many stories as sun-myths, a favourite idea of European investigators. The subsequent parts or main body of the book give the myths of different groups of tribes, the characteristics of each group being well shown by the selections. Occasional comparisons with European mythology add to the interest.

In his treatment of the myths of the different Indian peoples he omits references to the authors and sources from which he derives each myth. Algonquian myths and legends have the larger chapter devoted to them, nature myths being numerous in their smaller communities. The more noteworthy relate to Glooskap, Cold-Maker, Algon, Cloud-Carrier, the Snowman husband, the Maize-Spirit, the Seven Brothers, the Blackfoot Napi and Kutoyis, and a variety of others, chiefly nature myths. Next in order are the Iroquois myths and legends. He correctly assigns (p. 223) the exploits of Longfellow's Hiawatha to the Ojibway demi-god Manabush, thus making him Ojibway in almost all but name. Longfellow's choice of name has caused widespread confusion, as the author points out, but he gives his opinion (p. 227) that the lofty and noble character which the poet gives to Hiawatha is not unsuited to the actual hero when he lived and worked among the Iroquois. Charms, magic and transformations, in which the influence of many shamans or medicine-men is to be seen, characterize the myths of the Iroquois. Sioux myths and legends, in which Iowa and

Omaha are the more numerous, are less pleasant than the two kinds just mentioned, and have various snake spirits. Specimens of Pawnee myths and legends abound in animal transformations, especially buffalo and bear spirits, and due offerings are made to Atius Tirawa, their Great Spirit. The northern and northwestern Indians, whose myths and legends make up the closing division of the book, have many malignant spirits. The legends of the Haidas are quite different from those of eastern peoples. They relate in particular to their sea environment and coast life. Those of the Chinooks show a different type of mental structure; one of these tales (p. 341) exemplifies the difference of outlook between aboriginal and civilized mind. Those of the Californian tribes, for the illustration of which there are some long quotations, have many evil or perverse spirits but contain various facts about their tribal life. The Athapascan tribes are weak in myths. The book has a map of the main linguistic stocks. The Bibliography is not a list of the books used by the author in the compilation, but an attempt to lay down a course of reading in the subject. A glossary coupled with the index is a useful part of the work.

What appears to be a rival of the foregoing work, in a similar series of mythologies, is by Professor Alexander of Nebraska State University. In this volume the author covers the North American continent, from the far north to the Mexican boundary, and is sanguine as to the future of American myths. No special features call for notice.

The paper accompanying the Thirty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1909-1910) is a voluminous publication on Tsimshian Mythology by Professor Franz Boas. Although it is assigned to the year 1909-1910, it has emerged from the Government Printing Office at Washington only in 1916. It is a large and valuable collection of Tsimshian myths, made by the late Henry W. Tate, of Port Simpson, B.C., and as now published has the benefit of the scientific treatment which Professor Boas can give. This production places Canadian ethnology under a debt of gratitude to those workers in the United States who

have been active in bringing it to completion. It is well illustrated like the two volumes already noticed.

The preponderance of mythology and folklore in the work of writers in the United States is also the prevailing tendency in the Canadian output, which parallels what is going on elsewhere, and the tendency is equally noteworthy. A bulky volume of 438 pages by Mr. C. M. Barbeau of the Ottawa Anthropological Survey gives a comprehensive survey of Huron mythology, and is a welcome addition to the literature of the subject. In the hands of a practised worker like Mr. Barbeau the subject is sure to be well treated. A lengthy appendix contains quotations from earlier published records by many writers of generations long since passed away. Like Homer's Iliad, the Norse Eddas, and many other story books committed to writing from an unlettered age, the mythology of the North American Indians was their linguistic stock-in-trade, but when equipped with European writing and the subsequent invention of printing, it begins to be like an aboriginal person dressed in European clothing and ready for social intercourse with civilized people.

Still another volume of legends—historic traditions in this case rather than nature-myths—is that by Arthur C. Parker on the *Constitution of the Five Nations*, issued by the University of the State of New York. It is written from the story or mythological point of view and throws much light upon the Iroquois constitution, and the origin of their famous confederation. It contains also the Hiawatha tradition, and a number of reprints of collateral items in the appendixes. There are eight plates, showing wampum belts and the central portion of New York State.

A. F. HUNTER

Iroquois Foods and Food Preparation. By F. W. Waugh. (Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 86, No. 12, Anthropological Series.) Ottawa, 1916. Pp. 235.

An extensive monograph on Indian foods by Mr. F. W. Waugh gives a scientific treatment of the subject, and

is rather more important than other monographs (mostly mythological), issued in the Canadian Anthropological Series in the past year. The author makes much use of existing literature, which renders it somewhat less valuable than if it had been all fieldwork or original research into data previously unworked, but this is not a serious defect as the compilation tends to throw much light upon unexplained customs recorded by former writers. Corn or maize of course occupies the first place as an Iroquois food, and is given the foremost position in the memoir. The list of corn recipes, many of them familiar dishes now in use amongst white people, is lengthy. A few derivative corn dishes like "samp" and "succotash" were familiar terms in use amongst the earlier generations of white people in America living in or near Iroquois territory. The latter was perhaps the "scrapple" of Pennsylvania, or similar to it. A question arises—is it correct to identify "hominy" and "sagamite" as the author does at page 91? The "hominy" now sold commercially is corn which has had the hulls removed, nowadays chemically, but by the Iroquois with ashes or lye, and cooked "hominy" would thus be identical with, or closely similar to, the "hulled corn soup" mentioned by the author on his preceding page. It is worth noting in this connection that there are two commodities sold as "hominy", both the whole grains hulled and the same ground into grits. "Sagamite" on the other hand was a porridge made from the ground coarse meal or crushed grains, and it is not known that their hulls were removed. Accordingly, it will perhaps be more correct to retain both terms in common language and avoid confusion, as they denote two different things. Under the specific heading of foods and their preparation, there are digressions on weather-lore, calendars and fire-making, containing notes and observations by the author, their setting in this place making them supplementary or general, as these topics do bear some remote relation to food operations, as well as to many other things. The monograph is equipped with a five-page Table of contents, but has not an alphabetical index. Thirty-nine plates

illustrate the text, which is altogether a creditable production.

An instructive article of 16 pages by Thomas Drummond on *The Canadian Snowshoe* appears in the current volume of Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (ser. iii, vol. x, sect. ii, pp. 305-320). It describes the different kinds in use amongst all the Canadian tribes and the northern tribes in the United States, and illustrates the theme in six plates of drawings. Articles of this kind are of considerable value in comparison with the vast amount of mythological material that it has become so fashionable to put on record.

A paper by O. B. Sperlin of Tacoma, Wash., on *The Indians of the Northwest as Revealed by the Earliest Journals* (*Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, March, 1916, pp. 1-43), sums up existing knowledge of the tribes west of the Rocky mountains, as recorded by the earliest travellers and writers. The writers cited were those who visited the west coast tribes up to about the year 1816, and accordingly the Indians in their primitive conditions are alone brought under discussion. It is a valuable summary of the statements of the first writers on the subject.

Two further memoirs in the Anthropological Series of the Canadian Geological Survey have recently appeared, *Time Perspective in aboriginal American culture, a study in Method*, by Dr. E. Sapir (Memoir 90), and *The Labrador Eskimo* by E. W. Hawkes (Memoir 91). The latter is a complete treatise on the subject, taking up the history of the Eskimos of Labrador, their food, clothing, houses, transportation, hunting and fishing, household tools and utensils, art, social organization and customs, games, music, religion, ceremonies and mythology—in fact, everything in the ethnology of that people. It is illustrated with thirty-five plates, thirty-two figures in the text and a map.

VI. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, EDUCATION, BIBLIOGRAPHY

L'Église du Canada après la Conquête. Par l'Abbé Auguste Gosselin. Première partie, 1760-1775. Quebec: Imprimerie Laflamme, 1916. Pp. xii, 432.

M. Gosselin, who has spent many years on the history of his Church in Canada before the British Conquest, has now reached the period of British rule and it is to be hoped will bring his work down to the present day. He is one of the learned curés, of whom there are many in the province of Quebec, and he has a genuine passion for historical research. Not unnaturally his point of view is not wholly detached, he is an ardent son of the Church with a tendency to consider all its ecclesiastics high-minded and all its bishops saints. There is, however, no note of intolerance in his work. He is amused, but not angry, that the British newcomers should have thought of taking over the churches in Quebec and making them Protestant and should cherish the hope that the French priests and laity would turn to that faith. M. Veyssière, the last priest to be consecrated by the last bishop of Quebec under French rule, did indeed change his religion and in doing so incurred the contempt of his former friends while he did not secure the respect of his new ones. M. Gosselin has relied largely upon the records of the Chapter of Quebec and on the well-kept Archives of the Episcopal Palace. He has also consulted the Archives at Ottawa and of course the printed material in French relating to this time. Of material in English he, like so many of his compatriots, has made slight use. Francis Maseres, for instance, the Attorney-General at Quebec at the time, wrote copiously on church matters and makes some rather serious charges against Mgr. Briand, especially on the ground of arrogance, but this material the learned author leaves severely alone and to him the bishop is a spotless saint ruling as a meek and lowly follower of his Master.

Making certain allowances we have nothing but praise for M. Gosselin. His style is pleasant and he throws much light on the working of the ecclesiastical system in Quebec during a difficult period. There was a clamant opinion among the English leaders in Quebec against the appointment of a bishop. This view found support both in London and in Rome. When in 1763 the Chapter of Quebec elected Mgr. Montgolfier Bishop of Quebec, the act was not recognized at London and was annulled at Rome. For a long time the British government would not formally permit the selection of a bishop. Mgr. Briand, who became the bishop-designate, spent a long time in London and was there assured privately that, though the government would not recognize his title as bishop, they would not object to his going to Quebec after being consecrated to that office. Accordingly he was quietly given episcopal orders at Paris and proceeded to Quebec, arriving on the very day that Murray, the first Governor, left for England.

The bishop, once at Quebec, was not slow to assume full episcopal authority. His relations with Sir Guy Carleton were excellent, those with the Cathedral Chapter at Quebec at first slightly troubled, since the Chapter was disposed to claim greater independence than the bishop liked. The last half of M. Gosselin's volume is chiefly concerned with the two visitations of his diocese which the bishop had carried out when the storm of the American Revolution broke. At this point the present volume ends. It is in the details of the visitations of the parishes that its chief original value lies. We can almost follow the bishop from day to day and hear his exhortations and rebukes to his people. A seigneur demands special distinction in the parish services and the bishop reminds him that he ought not to be too insistent about his rights. He settles questions of fees and disputes about precedence, he rebukes priests who are arrogant with their people and people who are too critical of their priest. He travels over immense distances and must have suffered many discomforts. This picture of a bishop at work in a new land is both interesting and in-

structive as to social conditions. Of course attention is fixed almost exclusively on ecclesiastical matters and this is the fault of the book. Without neglecting his principal topic, the author might have given us some vigorous pictures of parochial life. He has, however, written an interesting and original account of church affairs between the British Conquest and the American Revolution.

The Catholic Church in Waterloo County. By Theobald Spetz. Toronto: The Catholic Register, 1916. Pp. x, 262.

There was an excellent field for work on the history of the Catholic Church in Waterloo County. The district was settled by people with wide and interesting religious and social traditions, and there was thus a good opportunity for a valuable contribution to the history of Ontario. The Rev. Dr. Spetz's *The Catholic Church in Waterloo County* is unfortunately a tragic example not only of "how not to do it", but of good material gone wrong. The author has not the clearest idea of how to write the English language. He has no conception of how to write a book. He does not know what the historical method means. He lacks judgment, a sense of proportion and some idea of the difference between gossip and valuable information. His defects are made all the more evident by Dean Harris's fulsome preface which is fair neither to the public nor to the author. It is simply absurd to class Dr. Spetz among historians, and such unbalanced praise is not calculated to win him from the error of his ways. We feel it our duty to be severe, for the author has evidently some capacity for historical research and has spent a considerable amount of time unearthing material. For example, we find Waterloo County touching hands with the Irish rebellion in 1798, with Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, and with the revolutionary movements in Europe in 1848. Why interesting facts like these should be mixed up with pious and naïve records of very commonplace people and with the everyday happenings of ecclesiastical activities we do not know. It seems to be the fate of books such as

this to be tied for ever to the traditions and baldness of the mediaeval chronicles. In addition, the author seems to write at haphazard. He repeats himself in a most irritating manner, using the same words to tell the same story. Worse still, we do not get a clear picture of any of the early missionaries—men of fascination and heroic history—because Dr. Spetz jumps about in the midst of his material and seems so anxious to get things written that he has not given himself time to build up his work as an historical narrative. Nor has he helped us with an adequate index—the one provided is useless. He is not secure in dates—well known episodes being assigned to wrong years—and he has not taken very much trouble to correct carefully his proofs. His use of authorities is too vague to carry conviction. There is a list of them at the beginning of the book; but when we find included "hundreds of private letters", we have a right to demand that the pages of the book should have been documented and that these private letters should have been admitted to the scrutiny of historians and their worth determined. There can be no doubt that the work was worth doing and there can be no doubt that Dr. Spetz was not the man to do it. Had he been willing to place the material which he had collected in the hands of some one competent to deal with it and some one not tied down to local priests, local nuns, local families, and not afraid to omit names for fear of giving offence, then we should have had a book of real value, which the future historian could have used. As it is we feel that the whole thing will have to be done over again.

The Supplementary Volume, The Fourth, of *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, by Eugene Stock (London, 1916; pp. xvi, 665) has chapters on the North-west Canadian Missions and the British Columbia Mission. There is a crowded record of names of missionaries. We cannot but admire the extensive range of the activities of the Society, extending from Labrador to the Pacific coast. Speaking of the Eskimo Mission we learn that at Herschel Island, in

the Arctic region, the change in the habits of the natives has been remarkable. In one year, 1910, Mr. Whittaker baptized 113 Eskimo, and he wrote of the startling change from their drunken and immoral habits of old to their delight in the services and teaching provided for them. Even externally there is a striking difference. In 1912 he wrote, "Nearly every man carries a watch, and most houses have clocks; many have sewing machines, washing machines, and thermos bottles" (p. 378). A Hudson's Bay Company's officer, Mr. John Firth, said, in 1913, "They are as different as light from darkness compared with a few years ago. No one then felt safe when they were about. They were openly and shamelessly immoral. Now what a change! You can trust an Eskimo with anything, and morally you would not know they were the same people" (p. 378). Mr. Stock repeats an unconfirmed legend of the origin of the name Dominion of Canada. "When, in 1866, the Canadians were considering plans for the federation of the different provinces, then mutually independent, the question arose of a title for it. A member rose and said that in the Psalms for that day occurred the words, 'His dominion shall be from sea to sea', and he suggested that the name 'Dominion of Canada' be adopted; and eventually this suggestion was acted on" (p. 388). We have never been able to verify this story.

Education in the Province of Quebec (Prince Albert, 1916; pp. 30) is the topic of an Address to the Canadian Club at Regina, on November 8, 1916, by Mgr. Mathieu, Archbishop of Regina. Mgr. Mathieu, for a long time Rector of Laval University, knows thoroughly the system of education in the province of Quebec and is a high-minded ecclesiastical leader, eager to promote good relations between the French and the English in Canada. He sets forth in considerable detail the provisions for primary, secondary and higher education in Quebec and claims for Quebec a real efficiency in its educational system. He lays stress upon the fact, noted by many observers, that, devotedly Catholic as is the

habitant, he has no touch of intolerance and he always shows a generous spirit in educational matters towards the Protestant minority. Quite clearly even so moderate and restrained a leader as Mgr. Mathieu feels that the French minority in Ontario is not being generously treated in respect to the use of their language. He pays a special tribute to the spirit of Laval University. "I spent forty years among these professors who were as distinguished by their intelligence as by their knowledge. I have always noted with pleasure that all had but one end in view, namely to direct towards the good, to excite to virtue and to penetrate with the principles and with the spirit of Christianity the youth confided to their care, to be educators in every sense of the word, that is to say, to elevate, to enable to expand intellectually and morally those souls of which they were the guides, counsellors, masters and fathers" (p. 22). We wish that leaders in education generally would accept the ideals which Mgr. Mathieu outlines. It "is not only the cultivation of the mind by knowledge but, before and above all, the cultivation of the heart and conscience by the true and profound sentiment of duty, by the upholding of the legitimate and salutary family affections, by the practice of religious and moral obligations which no one can or should forget, by solid principles, strong and manly virtues; things without which it is impossible to make firm and unshaken bases for human society in the future" (p. 27). Mgr. Mathieu is a vital force in shaping opinion in the Canadian west. There will be no racial strife where his counsels prevail.

The paper of Professor W. E. Macpherson on the *Ontario Grammar Schools* (Bulletin No. 21 of the Department of History and Political Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston; pp. 22) is an admirably clear account of the origin and early vicissitudes of Ontario secondary schools, and is as satisfactory as any brief treatment of a large subject could be. The account covers a long period commencing with the advent of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe in 1791 and ending with the Act in 1871 which turned the

Grammar Schools into High Schools. The field is one that has been little worked and the mass of Acts, Regulations and Reports, from which a selection must be made, is almost the despair of one who would be at once clear and concise: yet we have here the salient features of all the enactments concerning these schools, glimpses of early teachers and school buildings, significant statistics and judicious selections from official reports. The impression upon the general reader may be that the amount of detail introduced tends somewhat to obscure the main trend. One cannot see the woods for the trees. Yet considering the unfamiliarity of the subject, very little could have been omitted without leaving the impression of mere dogmatism.

The determination of the government of Ontario that all the pupils in the elementary schools must learn English has called forth a copious literature. M. Philippe Landry, President of the "Association Canadienne-Française de l'Education de l'Ontario" publishes a considerable pamphlet *Le Désaveu* (Quebec: Dussault & Proulx, 1916; pp. 34) giving first the demand made by the French bishops in Canada, with the important exception of Archbishop Bruchesi, of Montreal, and one or two others, that the federal government should disallow the Act of the legislature of Ontario in naming a Commission to discharge the powers of the Separate School Board of Ottawa, since this body would not obey the Ontario law. The Minister of Justice refused to accept the demand and was supported by the French Canadian Postmaster-General, M. Casgrain. The pamphlet proceeds to attack their views. Throughout there is a confusion of thought between the right of Roman Catholics to separate schools in Ontario and the right to the use of the French language, which, as the Privy Council has declared, was never conceded. The Act attacked was, in the end, declared *ultra vires* by the Privy Council, but has since been replaced by one technically valid. The tone of the pamphlet is bitter in the extreme, evidence of the intense opinion in Quebec aroused by the dispute.

Father Hugolin continues his labours on *Bibliographie Franciscaine*. The latest volume is *Inventaire des revues, livres, brochures et autres écrits publiés par les Franciscains du Canada de 1890 à 1915* (Quebec, 1916; pp. 144). In the preface the author explains that the literary activity of the Franciscan Fathers is due partly to the temperance crusade, the conduct of which was confided to them. In the field of ecclesiastical history they have also been diligent, chiefly with researches into the history of the Récollet missions. The form and appearance of the volume are beyond criticism, and it will doubtless be a valuable guide to future historians.

In *Cinquante-six Ans de Vie Littéraire* (Montreal, 1916; pp. 78) M. Gérard Malchelosse describes the literary and journalistic career of M. Benjamin Sulte and appends an admirable bibliography of his writings. It is indeed a formidable list of publications, but the explanation is afforded by M. Malchelosse when he tells us that it averages no more than an article a week. This to a man of M. Sulte's varied gifts and scholarly pursuits, to whom writing is as easy as talking, who has never been ill, whose literary work has been his life-long relaxation, is mere pastime. The secret of M. Sulte's historical scholarship, so broad and yet so accurate in all its details, is revealed when we are told that his habit in reading is to take copious notes. These notes are carefully arranged and indexed. So simple is the process of becoming a great scholar! Nothing is required but life-long study, a good method, excellent judgment, and a fine literary style.

Another bibliography of a scholarly writer is *Carnet bibliographique des publications de M. l'Abbé Auguste Gosselin* (Quebec, 1916; pp. 24). The Abbé Gosselin has been a diligent student of the history of Canada, and is at present engaged upon what promises to be his most important work, a history of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada, of which seven volumes have already been published, bringing

the history down to 1775. Numerous other works on the French period of slighter proportions are also to his credit, and he has been a frequent contributor to periodicals.

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